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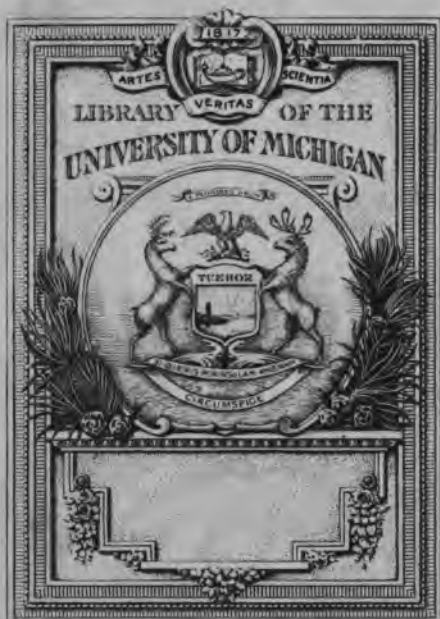
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the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are employed in the public sector has increased by 1.5 million, from 2.5 million in 1980 to 4 million in 1995 (Department of Health 1996).

There is a growing emphasis on the need to improve the efficiency of the public sector, and to ensure that the public sector is able to deliver the services that are required by the public. This has led to a number of initiatives, including the introduction of competition, the restructuring of public sector organisations, and the introduction of performance measures. The aim of these initiatives is to ensure that the public sector is able to deliver the services that are required by the public, in a cost-effective and efficient manner.

The aim of this paper is to review the literature on the impact of the public sector on the health of the population. The paper will first review the literature on the impact of the public sector on the health of the population, and then discuss the implications of this for the future of the public sector.

The paper is organised as follows. The first section reviews the literature on the impact of the public sector on the health of the population. The second section discusses the implications of this for the future of the public sector. The third section concludes the paper.

The first section reviews the literature on the impact of the public sector on the health of the population. The literature is divided into two main areas: the impact of the public sector on the health of the population, and the impact of the public sector on the health of the population.

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The third section concludes the paper. The paper concludes that the public sector has a significant impact on the health of the population, and that this impact is likely to continue to be significant in the future.

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**HISTORICAL  
RECORDS AND STUDIES.**







*Wm. Gorgan*

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ilege," which is justly termed the *Magna Charta* of Dutch liberties. By this constitution their ancient rights were safeguarded and preserved. The cities were allowed to appoint their own magistrates, and to hold their own courts, and the inhabitants were secured in the possession of the fundamental principle that no taxes should be paid which had not been voted either directly or through their representatives. By the marriage of Mary, Holland passed into the control of Spain. The war with Philip was, therefore, an effort to obtain rights which had been in the possession of the people for some hundred years. The heroic war of Dutch independence shows how deeply these principles were embedded in the minds and hearts of the people. In struggling for the right of self-government Holland became great. The war marks the golden age of her history. With the glory of these traditions and achievements surrounding them, the early Dutch settlers landed on the island of Manhattan.

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Company, recognizing the failure of its efforts at colonization, obtained a supplementary charter from the States-General. This charter is called the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. Every person who would plant a colony of fifty persons was called a patroon, and was granted in perpetuity a title to a tract of land extending sixteen miles on one side or eight miles on both sides of a river and so far into the interior as the situation of the other colonists might permit. Thus the feudal distinction of patroon and boor which existed in the country districts of Holland was implanted in America. A patroon was invested with certain baronial immunities and rights, e. g., he could hold courts, and on founding a city he could appoint officers for its government. The tenant had no title to the soil, nor could he leave the colony without the written consent of the patroon. The establishment of the patroons, augmented under Stuyvesant by the creation of greater and lesser burghers, and under the early rule of the English by the creation of manors such as those of Livingston, Pelham, and Cortlandt, introduced a strong feudal and aristocratic element into the colony, which left a marked impression on its subsequent social and political life.

The Charter of Privileges, however, contained two other enactments which were of great influence on the history of popular government in the New Netherlands. The first was the provision contained in Article XXVIII, by which the colonies in different parts of the Province could appoint deputies, to be changed every two years, who should give information to the Director and Council of whatever would further the interests of their respective districts. Thus early the States-General sought to give a trend to the political growth of the Province, to create a check to the arbitrary rule of the Director and Council, and to reproduce in the Dutch possessions on the American continent a form of government analogous to that which existed in Holland. The second provision allowed any person to settle in such places and on so much land as the Director and Council might assign, and to hold this land in his own right. Hence arose the class of in-



## HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES.

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### THE CHARTER OF LIBERTIES AND THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY OF 1683.

BY THE REV. JOHN T. DRISCOLL, S. T. L.

IN appearing before you to deliver the address at this, your annual meeting, I am mindful of two facts—that this society is the American Catholic Historical Society, and that its birthplace and home is the great metropolitan city of New York. The aim and purpose of your existence as a body is the collection of historical material, and the encouragement of historical investigation into the spread of Catholic teaching, and the rise and development of institutions which embody Catholic truth, or were promoted by Catholics who have a claim on our undying loyalty by the virtue and integrity of their lives and the splendor of their achievements. Hence it is that I have chosen, for the subject of my address, “The Charter of Liberties and the New York Assembly of 1683.”

On October 14, 1683, two hundred and twenty-two years ago, the first representative assembly of New York Province met within the walls of Fort James. It was a memorable event in the history of New York and in the rise and development of free institutions. Its presiding officer and controlling genius was Thomas Dongan, the first Catholic Governor of the Province—a ruler, who, for breadth of mind, wide sympathy, and executive ability, stands far in advance of his times, and, measured by the system of government which he inaugurated,

The portrait which we present to our readers is a copy of the supposed portrait of the governor which is now in the collection of the New York Historical Society having originally formed a part of the Caleb Lyons collection.

is easily one of the most attractive and momentous personages in American Colonial history. The acts of this Assembly not only consolidated the Province of New York on a broad, sound basis of constitutional government, but in the principles therein enunciated they reveal an intimate knowledge of Catholic teaching on the constitution of the State, a deep appreciation of popular rights and of individual liberties, a broad and intelligent grasp of the theory of government. And these truths, expressed in lofty, clear, and eloquent language, give to this Assembly a conspicuous and leading position in the developing of American institutions, so that they may justly be called the Magna Charta of American liberty, as breathing a spirit and outlining a program which developed, nearly one hundred years after, into the Declaration of Independence.

To rightly estimate the importance of this subject, it is necessary to view it in the environment of its own times and in the light of events immediately preceding. The acquisition of self-government by a people is a growth more or less gradual, influenced by a multitude and variety of elements which derive their distinctive features from the character of the inhabitants and their traditions, and from the circumstances of time and of place. Nowhere is this truth better illustrated than in the study of the rise and growth of government on the American continent.

## I.

The seventeenth century marks the era of colonizing that portion of North America now embraced within the limits of the United States. The Spaniards in Florida and, to the south, the French in Canada, had in the preceding century established permanent settlements. The efforts of Raleigh and of Gorges under Elizabeth were in the nature of private enterprises, and lacked the resources which were necessary to found a fixed habitation in a distant and savage land. The foundation of the trading companies gave rise to the permanent settlements of Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts. For the Pilgrims originally received a patent from the Virginia Com-

pany to settle on a part of their territory but in the voyage hither were driven from their course and landed at Plymouth. Afterwards came the settlements of Maryland and of the Carolinas. These settlements developed and expanded. The free intervening territory was occupied by fresh arrivals. Thus, in 1683, the entire Atlantic seaboard from Nova Scotia to Florida was marked out into various settlements, with well-defined limits, and within the comparatively short space of seventy years, the few early straggling settlements had developed into colonies with political forms, known as the chartered colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, the royal government of Virginia, and the proprietary governments of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas.

From the beginning and throughout her history the Province of New York held a peculiar and leading position among the original thirteen colonies. Settled and governed by the Dutch for forty years, she was deeply imbued with the Dutch spirit and traditions, and revealed this influence in her social and political life. Her central geographical position with spacious harbor and beautiful rivers, made her an emporium of trade and commerce. The seals of the Province were the beaver and the flour-barrel. Her motto, fit emblem of her commercial and political growth, is *Excelsior*. Cosmopolitan in spirit, she early welcomed divers nationalities within her borders. In a letter dated 1643, Father Jogues states that at the time eighteen different languages were spoken in Manhattan. As early as 1635 traces of English settlers are found. The first incorporated town in the New Netherlands—Hempstead, settled by English refugees from the tyranny of Massachusetts—received its charter from Director Kieft two years before the incorporation of the Dutch town of Breuckelyn. Her first settlers were Walloons—French refugees from Holland, who by the trend of political events were again compelled to seek an asylum in a new land. In her history as a Province she was destined to sustain severer trials than any of her sister colonies, but by these very trials she gained a larger and wider

experience, which helped to temper and broaden the narrow traits of her New England neighbors. More retarded in the early attempts to acquire political and civil liberties, she learned thereby to value them all the more highly, to cling to them once obtained with more persistence, to safeguard their application with such intelligence and skill as to justly merit to be styled the Pivot-Province of the eighteenth century.

Like Virginia and Massachusetts, New Netherlands, or New York, was first settled by a trading company. Unlike them, however, it was settled by the Dutch, and for forty years remained under the strong, autocratic grasp of a gigantic commercial monopoly. Even after its conquest by the English in 1664, twenty years elapsed before a General Assembly was convened, and the people admitted to exercise a voice in the government of the State. Compared with the other colonies this apprenticeship was long and tyrannical, yet it served to implant in the minds of the colonists a deeper, stronger, and more intelligent grasp of popular rights. Its internal development was marked out on independent and peculiar lines.

## II.

When the Dutch West India Company was formed in 1621, and received from the States General the charter of New Netherlands, Holland was reaching the zenith of her glory. In 1579, by the convention of Utrecht, the confederation of the Netherlands had been formed to throw off the yoke of Spain and to secure national independence. By a truce of twelve years in 1609, Philip of Spain virtually conceded their independence, and the United Provinces rose to a place among the nations of Europe.

The twelve years' truce gives an insight into the political affairs of the Netherlands, knowledge of which is necessary to understand the condition of the Dutch colonies in America, and to appreciate the full significance of our subject. The truce was a triumph for the peace-party led by Barneveldt, the leading statesman of Holland. Barneveldt sought to make his



country rich and great by peace, and preserve its liberties by thwarting the ambition of the Prince of Orange, who advocated war as a means to seize the crown. To Barneveldt the Prince of Orange was a more dangerous enemy of the State than was the King of Spain. For the union of Utrecht did not constitute a strong central government. It was rather a compact between the seven provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel and Guelderland, under the military leadership of William, Prince of Orange, with the immediate object of freedom from the yoke of Spain. By this alliance the states did not abrogate any of their rights, nor confer on the Prince any share in their government. Each state was sovereign, and although united in a body, each constantly maintained its sovereignty. In government the Netherlands was a republic with the States-rights idea developed to its extreme limit. The central form of government was a congress of delegates from the several provinces, called the States-General, which exercised its powers or functions through committees or cabinets. Thus the Council of State was the executive department of the States-General; the Chamber of Accounts was its treasury department; the Admiralty was its war department. The Stadtholder, i. e., the Prince of Orange, had a seat of honor but no vote in the States-General. He was the commander-in-chief of the army and the navy, and as such the principal servant of the State. The States-General was not a legislative body in our meaning of the term. The delegates who constituted that body were not representatives with the power to vote like the members of our State and National legislatures. They were rather envoys, having careful and detailed instructions from the provincial legislatures which they were bound to follow in the discussion of questions in the States-General, and in cases of doubt, had to send back for more explicit directions. The legislatures of the several provinces were composed of delegates from the nobility and from the municipalities. The nobility with their vassals preserved to some extent the rights and traditions of feudalism. The municipalities, on the other hand, were the strong exponents and

defenders of popular liberties wrung little by little from the nobles by an agitation that had begun as far back as 1215, when Middleburg, the first incorporated city of Holland, obtained the right of self-government after the model of the cities in Northern Italy. The Prince of Orange, therefore, appears as the representative of the ideas of strong central government, and of war, the necessary means for its accomplishment. Barneveldt saw in the rising power of the Prince of Orange a vital danger to the State. It would result in the weakening and humiliation of the municipalities.

The execution of Barneveldt in 1619 deprived the national party of its leader and mainstay. With the expiration of the truce with Spain in 1621, the Prince found little opposition, and war was continued. At this juncture and under these circumstances the Dutch West India Company was formed. It was essentially the creation and organ of the war party. Broached twenty-five years before by William Usserlinck, a merchant of Amsterdam, and receiving fresh impetus by the voyage of Hudson, its hopes were destroyed by the truce of 1609. With the renewal of the war it was again projected and obtained a charter.

The Dutch rule in North America is synchronous with the rise and prosperity of the West India Company. Although from 1614 the merchants from Amsterdam had carried on trading with Manhattan, the project of permanent settlement in 1623 was effected by the efforts of the company under its charter. With the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the company lost the reason of its existence, and, deprived of resources by the advent of peace, gradually failed, until it was on the verge of bankruptcy when the New Netherlands passed, without a struggle, into the possession of the English.

The West India Company was an armed commercial monopoly to humble the power of Spain and to enrich its members by the spoils of war and by the profits of trade. Composed originally of five chambers, e. g., Amsterdam, Zealand, the Meuse, North Holland, and Friesland, its actual control and government rested in the chamber of Amsterdam. In its ob-

ject, as in its administration, it was opposed to the East India Company. The latter originated with Barneveldt, was the organ of the peace party, and was under the complete control of the States-General. The West India Company, throughout its career, was in full and open opposition to the municipalities, and consequently to the States of Holland and the national Dutch party. The existence of this antagonism explains the differences in the policies of the company and the States-General over the government of the New Netherlands; it explains why, with the death of William two years after the peace of Westphalia and the establishment of a republic without the faintest shadow of a royal house, that the company lost prestige through a failure of popular support in the mother country. Finally the antagonism of the companies accounts for what seems at first sight inexplicable—the apathy in Holland toward the conquest of New Netherlands by the English. By its charter of July 1, 1621, the West India Company was granted the exclusive privilege of trading in America for twenty-four years. Under the supreme control of the States-General it had full governmental powers: it could erect forts, appoint governors and other officers, levy troops, fit out fleets for attack and defence. It exercised these powers to the extreme limit, assumed the character of an independent state, and as such became an ally of the government throughout the Thirty Years' War. Its services were immense; its fleets ruled the American seas, broke the power and plundered the resources of Spain, and poured untold wealth into the hands of its members. Yet it was less fit to govern foreign colonies.

A most important factor in the constitutional history of New York is the character of its inhabitants. The early colonies of the Province came mainly from Holland and England, the two countries of Europe at that time characterized by strong democratic tendencies among the people, and by a system of popular representation in the government. At the death of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the provinces and towns of Holland met in assembly in 1477 and extorted from Mary, his daughter, a charter called "The Great Priv-

ilege," which is justly termed the *Magna Charta* of Dutch liberties. By this constitution their ancient rights were safeguarded and preserved. The cities were allowed to appoint their own magistrates, and to hold their own courts, and the inhabitants were secured in the possession of the fundamental principle that no taxes should be paid which had not been voted either directly or through their representatives. By the marriage of Mary, Holland passed into the control of Spain. The war with Philip was, therefore, an effort to obtain rights which had been in the possession of the people for some hundred years. The heroic war of Dutch independence shows how deeply these principles were embedded in the minds and hearts of the people. In struggling for the right of self-government Holland became great. The war marks the golden age of her history. With the glory of these traditions and achievements surrounding them, the early Dutch settlers landed on the island of Manhattan.

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dependent freeholders, which in time, as the settlers increased in number, resulted in the Dutch village or township.

The existence of small independent landholders is the basis of what may be termed the popular party in the New Netherlands, and is the germ from which developed that complexity of conditions necessitating, as the colony grew, some form of popular government. But this situation was not peculiar to the New Netherlands; the same course is detected at work in the neighboring colonies. The multiplication of independent freeholders transformed Massachusetts from a trading corporation into a corporate colony, and Virginia from a plantation into a province. It is the fundamental principle in the growth of representative government in America. Modified in its development by the intelligence and character of the people, and by the circumstances of their environment, it was nevertheless universal in operation within the limits of the original thirteen States.

With these two provisions of the Charter of 1629 the popular party in the New Netherlands took local color and form. The Walloons had petitioned the London Company in the early days of the Jamestown settlement for permission to settle within its territory, on condition that they be permitted to elect their own magistrate. Upon the refusal of the company they declined to migrate. Upon arriving in Manhattan they located at Wallabout, and exercised the privileges of local government after the spirit and form of free citizens of Holland. But by the concessions of 1629, farmers and settlements increased. Manhattan lost its exclusive character of a trading-port, and as commerce expanded, the town assumed more and more the appearance of a community whose inhabitants, having vested rights in the land, were interested in the improvement and security of their homes. The needs of a rapidly growing and unformed community, the incompetence and exactions of a government by a selfish commercial monopoly, the necessity of self-preservation from the attacks and ravages of the Indians, far from weakening, served rather to intensify and broaden the principles under whose influence the settlers had

been brought up, and by whose spirit their lives had been formed. Hence arose the long, continuous, and finally successful struggle for the possession and exercise of their rights. They strove, like their neighbors in the other colonies, like their children in the war of independence, like freemen resisting oppression in every clime, for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Down to 1664, when the English took possession of the New Netherlands, not a year passed in which complaints and charges were not presented by the settlers to the West India Company or to the States-General against the incapacity, greed, or tyranny of their rulers. The first three Directors, Minuit, Van Twiller, and Kieft, were removed as the result of such complaints. Under the Dutch rule the settlers repeatedly asked, as free citizens of Holland, for the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed in the Fatherland.

The spirit of the West India Company is shown in the appointment of Van Twiller to succeed Minuit. A clerk in the company's office in Amsterdam, he was chosen to govern a province. The selection was made because by previous training Van Twiller was looked upon as a fit person to take charge of a commercial enterprise. No thought was given to government or to the welfare of the people. His rule was disastrous; the company confessed mismanagement of the Province, but in 1638 refused to assent to the view of the States-General when asked "whether it would not be expedient to place the district of New Netherlands at their disposal." The result, however, was the grant of a new charter of exemptions by the States-General in 1640. Restrictions were removed from trade and soil. Free trade within the province was proclaimed, and individual grants of land were encouraged. A fresh impetus was given to individual colonization and to independent town-settlements, with the privilege of having their own magistrates.

At this period is found the earliest legislation with express reference to the English. In the Charter of Freedoms they are welcomed, granted the privileges of freedom in religion,

the nomination of their own magistrates, and the jurisdiction of their own courts, provided they take the oath of allegiance to the Dutch government and agree to follow certain Dutch customs, as, e. g., the use of Dutch weights and measures. From this time on these two peoples were destined to predominate and work together for the possession of self-government. Different, yet strangely alike in character and traditions, they were so to blend as to produce a broader and more progressive popular spirit and life.

The English people, like the Dutch, had fought and struggled for the possession and exercise of individual rights against tyranny and oppression. In 1215 the English barons under Archbishop Langton forced King John to sign the *Magna Charta* at Runnymede. This document is universally considered the foundation of modern constitutional and representative government. It marks an epoch in the history of the English people. They were granted freedom from military imposition and despotism, were confirmed in municipal rights, and allowed a larger share in the government of the nation, secured trial by judgment of their peers, and the inestimable right of paying taxes voted only with their consent. These principles were eagerly seized by the people, entered deeply into their lives, developed with the years, moulded the spirit of the nation, and breathed forth in a nobler public sentiment. In England, as in Holland, the larger landed estates with their ancient immunities and privileges, preserved throughout the country districts to a greater or less extent the spirit of feudalism. There the landholders rather than the tenantry more immediately profited by the charter. In the municipalities and with the small landholders, however, the spirit of liberty spread and became deeply rooted. At times obscured by the splendor and power of royalty, these truths so dear to the life of the Englishman were never crushed, but matured in silence, obtained greater strength and cohesion, only to burst forth in more resolute action when the oppression of power became excessive, and when their native-born rights as Englishmen were conceived to be in danger. Thus at the opening of the seven-



teenth century a popular party under the leadership of Eliot, Hampden, and Pym, strove for the vindication of their ancient liberties from the autocratic rule of James I. and Charles I., and forced the king, in 1628, to sign a Petition of Rights, in which the rights and liberties of English subjects, according to the rights and statutes of England, were solemnly recited. It was a more complete and formal enactment of Magna Charta.

During this contest for civil liberty in the mother country, English settlers drifted into the New Netherlands. They came not directly from England but from Massachusetts. The settlements in New England were founded by Puritan refugees from the arbitrary rule of the early Stuarts. Narrow and fanatical in spirit, they formed a government, democratic in form, but in reality only a narrow religious oligarchy. Church membership was a necessary qualification for citizenship. They persecuted with bitter and unscrupulous persistence those who differed from them. Religious orthodoxy, as they viewed it, was the test, and the unfortunates who would not conform, were punished with heavy fines, imprisonment, exile or death. That these refugees had settled in considerable numbers on Long Island by the year 1640 the Charter of Privileges clearly assumes. In the principles and traditions of civil liberty they could readily find sympathy from the Dutch settlers. Both maintained the doctrine of no taxation without consent. Both were born and bred to the free exercise of municipal rights, although they differed in the methods of nominating and electing town officers. Holland was a republic with a weak central government and strong independent municipalities. It was therefore inferior to England, which possessed a strong central government, tempered by popular representations in Parliament and by an equally strong adherence to the theory of municipal rights. The Dutch were more cosmopolitan by reason of their commercial life, and had learned by this experience to be broader in sympathy. The English were more insular and selfish, yet more aggressive in temper and were capable of a broader and more intelligent grasp of popular political movements.

With characteristics which could blend so easily for common betterment, the English and Dutch settlers in the New Netherlands were led by circumstances to make common cause. The Indian wars provoked by the cruel conduct of Kieft, threw them together in the effort to protect life and property, and to seek redress from a form of government so directly opposed to their common instincts and traditions. The result was the increase of the popular party and the injection of new life and vigor into their course of action. The Indian uprisings of 1641 and 1643 threatened to engulf the villages of Manhattan. The fierce tribes assembled from all sides, burned, pillaged, destroyed property, and killed the settlers within sight of the fort. Kieft found himself helpless. Universally regarded as the cause of his own powerlessness he was compelled by the strong adverse public sentiment to make concessions to the people and to appoint committees of the citizens to meet him for consultation on the means to be used for the common safety. Thus in 1641 he appointed the committee of twelve, in 1643 the committee of eight. These were standing committees to give advice, when called for by the Director, on what steps should be taken for the welfare of the community. In this they differed from the committees of New England which had, in a greater or less degree, a delegated executive power. The committees of twelve and of eight petitioned representation, at least in the municipal government, on the ground that as free denizens they had a claim to the rights and privileges of the Dutch in Holland. When the dangers from the war had passed and peace was restored, Kieft disbanded them, severely proscribed any popular meetings, and threatened with severe penalties any who would disobey.

The period from 1640 to 1650 witnessed important developments. The Indian wars produced disputes and recriminations, the most noteworthy being the petition of the eight men under Melyn in 1644, which resulted in the recall of Kieft. Between 1642 and 1645 the four English towns of Newtown, Hempstead, Flushing, and Gravesend were incorporated. Brooklyn received its charter in 1646. These towns

had local courts, and magistrates selected from the inhabitants by the method of double nominations followed by the Dutch. The commercial privileges of 1640 were further augmented in 1645 by the removal of restrictions on export trade. The committees of twelve and of eight appointed by Kieft, and of the nine men appointed by Stuyvesant, indicate the growth of the popular party, and the courage and strength with which they struggled for reforms in the local government. For three years, from 1643 to 1646, the commissions appointed by the States-General for inquiry into the misgovernment of the New Netherlands conducted their investigation, returned a report in favor of the people and against the West India Company. They recommended that instructions be sent to the Director and his Council, directing, among other reforms, that the Colonists should be encouraged to settle in certain numbers so as to form villages, towns, and hamlets, as the English were in the habit of doing, who thereby lived more securely, and that deputies meet every six months. The Remonstrance of the New Netherlands, which is clearly the most famous document of the Dutch rule, was drawn up by the nine men in 1649, and presented by Van Der Donck to the States-General. This scathing indictment of the arbitrary and unjust government under Kieft and Stuyvesant set all Holland by the ears. The States-General decided in favor of the commonalty, and issued the Provisional Order of 1650 urging the concession of a burgher government to New Amsterdam, the erection of a court of justice, the appointment of representatives of the people to the Director's Council, and the recognition of the commonalty in the collection and administration of taxes. The Amsterdam chamber resented the interference of the States-General and supported Stuyvesant, who ignored the directions. Upon a new petition from the people the States-General issued another Provisional Order and the West India Company was compelled to yield. They conceded a burgher government to New Amsterdam in 1652, and the following year Stuyvesant established the city government by appointing a schout, two schepens and five burgomasters.

The preceding account serves as an excellent illustration of the condition in the New Netherlands under the administration of Stuyvesant, which covers the closing years of occupancy by the Dutch. On the one side stands the people's party, strong with repeated victories, united in their claims for popular rights, and persistent in opposition to the Director. Behind them is the States General, making charters in answer to petitions and compelling the West India Company to grant concessions in their favor. Actively or passively with the Director stand the Council and the wealthy burghers, for reasons of prudence or for commercial privileges. Behind the Director and sanctioning his actions is the West India Company, which regards him as the local manager of their commercial enterprise. A broader and more prudent man than Stuyvesant might have effected a compromise to the profit of the company and possibly to the ultimate defeat of the popular movement. But Stuyvesant, of violent temper and of military training, tried to govern the Province with all the rigor of a martinet executing the arbitrary orders of his superior. Thus the Amsterdam Directors instructed Stuyvesant to enforce the collection of taxes for the benefit of the company even against the will of the people. Again he restricted the burgher government of New Amsterdam by appointing the officials and by selecting for schout the fiscal agent of the company. Not until 1658 did he grant to the burgomasters and schepens the right of double nominations, and only in 1660 did the city have a schout of its own choosing.

In spite of Stuyvesant's arbitrary conduct and his unremitting opposition to popular government, the people's party grew in numbers and boldness. Westchester and Jamaica received magistrates in 1656. These were followed by New Haarlem, Esopus, and Bergen. So bitter had the opposition to the Director become, that in 1653 two delegates from Hempstead, Middleburg, and Gravesend, with two burgomasters and schepens from New Amsterdam, assembled at Flushing under the leadership of Baxter. They demanded protection against the robbers and pirates infesting Long Island and refused to

pay taxes to the Province. The answer of the Director was in the form of a threat that at the next election he would grant courts of justice to Breuckelyn, Amersfoort, and Midwout, so that in future assemblies the delegates from the Dutch towns might outvote the English. The assembly adjourned to December of the same year, out of regard to the wishes of the delegates from New Amsterdam who objected to an alliance with the English until the other Dutch towns as well as the Director and Council had been consulted. Heretofore the English colonists had followed the lead of the Dutch, and in the agitation for civil liberties had petitioned and struggled for the possession of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the burghers of Holland. Now, however, becoming more aggressive, they adopted a course which was to separate them from their Dutch neighbors. On May 20, 1653, Captain Underhill issued an address charging the Director with having "unlawfully imposed taxes contrary to the privileges of freeman, violated liberty of conscience, imprisoned both English and Dutch without trial, enacted general laws without the approbation of his government, and imposed magistrates upon freeman without election," and raised the colors of Parliament.

Although the people refused to revolt, and Underhill was ordered to leave the Province, the English settlers on Long Island practically separated themselves from the control of the Director, while those on the eastern part affiliated with the government of Connecticut. On December 10, 1653, the proposed convention met in New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant having finally consented, at the request of the burgomasters and schepens, to summon delegates. Four English and four Dutch towns were represented. A remonstrance was prepared, reciting that the government was arbitrary; that officers and magistrates without the consent or nomination of the people were "appointed to many places contrary to the laws of the Netherlands; that old orders and proclamations made without knowledge or consent of the people remain obligatory, and subject them to loss and punishment through ignorance," etc. The remonstrance stated further that "it is one of our privileges

that our consent or that of our representatives is necessarily required in the enactment of such laws and orders," and their enactment otherwise "is contrary and opposed to the granted freedoms of the Dutch government." The delegates then appealed to the law of nature which permits all men to assemble for the protection of their liberties and their property. The reply of Stuyvesant was an order dissolving the convention, and forbidding all assemblies in the future. The delegates appealed to the Amsterdam chamber, but with no result. The same ill-success attended the remonstrance to the Amsterdam chamber made in 1663 by the magistrates of New Amsterdam, New Haarlem, Breuckelyn, Midwout, Amersfoort, New Utrecht, Bushwick, and Bergen, concerning the failure to protect the Colonists and their property against usurpation and force as guaranteed in the Freedoms and Exemptions. The following year a final effort was made. At the order of the Director delegates, chosen two from each of the towns, assembled under the presidency of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer. They demanded protection from the Director and were met with a request for supplies. This was refused and the delegates dispersed to their homes. The next meeting of delegates was at Hempstead March 1, 1665, but in the meantime the possessions of the New Netherlands had passed from the Dutch to the English.

### III.

In 1664 Charles II. appointed a special commission, consisting of Nicholls, Cartwright, and Carr, for the ostensible purpose of visiting America and of settling the disputes among the Colonists, especially concerning the boundaries of the Provinces. The real motive was the seizure of the New Netherlands, and the prime mover in the enterprise was the Duke of York. The cause was the repeated complaints to the King of England by the farmers of the customs that the navigation acts of 1660 and 1663, providing that English commerce should be carried on in English vessels, could not be enforced as long as the New Netherlands, situated as it was in the midst

of the English possessions, remained in the hands of the Dutch. In clear violation of the statute of Elizabeth, decreeing that discovery with occupation gave title to land, the English determined to seize the Province on the ground that they were the discoverers, while the Dutch were usurpers. The English fleet sailed into the harbor, and Stuyvesant, taken by surprise and deprived of popular support, surrendered without a struggle. Nicholls changed the name of the Province to New York in honor of his patron, and by virtue of a charter already granted by the King to the Duke, New York became a proprietary Province under English rule. In 1674, war breaking out between England and Holland, the Dutch recaptured the city and re-established the Dutch form of government. But by the treaty of peace signed at Westminster, Holland surrendered the Province to the English and the Dutch rule in America was forever ended. A suggestive coincidence is that the same year which witnessed the final downfall of the Dutch possessions in America, saw also the collapse and bankruptcy of the West India Company. Though reorganized, it was shorn forever of its power and prestige.

For twenty years, under English rule, the Province had no legislative assembly. By the articles of capitulation drawn by Nicholls, all its inhabitants were regarded as free denizens, the Dutch were confirmed in their possessions and allowed the use of their customs and usages. Only gradually did these give way to English forms. The city government of New York was changed to one by mayor and aldermen, but the system of double nominations prevailed for some years. Nicholls guaranteed the people of Manhattan the right of choosing delegates, and promised an Assembly to the English of Long Island, but the promise was never kept. The important acts of Nicholls were the constitution of Long Island, Staten Island, and Westchester into the county of Yorkshire, with three ridings, each of which had two justices of the peace; the erection of a Court of Assizes and the promulgation of a body of laws, known as the Duke's Laws, compiled from the laws and ordinances of the other English Colonies. Further special

legislation, necessitated by the conditions of the Province, was enacted at a meeting of the Long Island Deputies at Hempstead in 1665. The Duke's Laws originally had force in Yorkshire; only gradually did they extend through the Province, and not until 1678 do we find them in force on the upper Hudson. The Court of Assizes, composed of the Governor's appointees, was in the beginning under his complete control and exercised jurisdiction only in Yorkshire. It gradually expanded, and in 1678 we find delegates or justices from all parts of the Province assembled at its sittings, where they were allowed by the Governor a certain freedom of discussion on matters of common interest. It never attained the dignity and power of a legislative body, although its spirit had broadened so that in 1681 it became the official and natural organ through which a solemn petition was addressed to the Duke of York, praying for a representative assembly, and reciting that its absence was an intolerable grievance to the people.

In spirit the English proprietary government was not different from the Dutch Directorate under the West India Company. The same autocracy and disregard for popular rights were shown. Nicholls bitterly disappointed the expectation of the Long Island settlers by refusing a legislative Assembly. In 1670 Lovelace publicly burned in front of the City Hall of New York the petition of the people of Hempstead for an assembly, and characterized their action as seditious, because they had refused, on the ground that they were taxed without their consent, to pay the levy assessed for repairing the fort. The administration of Andros was even more unpopular. By historians he is represented as a sycophantic tool of the Duke and a tyrant. He did all in his power to discourage the call of the people for an assembly. In a letter of April 6, 1675, the Duke commends him for opposition to the desired reform as not conducive to good government and not necessary for redress of grievances. Yet on January 28, 1676, the Duke writes that "he would be ready to consider any proposals to that purpose" if Andros continues to be of opinion that an assembly would



be advantageous. The autocratic action of the English Governor, the possession of assemblies of some sort by the neighboring provinces, the fact that laws were passed and taxes levied without their consent in open violation of their ancient rights and liberties as free English and Dutch subjects, as the people of Long Island stated in 1672 in a petition to the King; the increase of small landholders by ordinances of 1675—all these circumstances fanned the discontent to a flame. The English merchants of New York in 1680 openly refused to pay customs, on the ground that the three years' time had expired and during the absence of Andros in England no one had authority to renew the ordinance. Dyer, the collector, seized the merchandise, was thrown into jail and indicted for treason, but appealed to England. The whole Province was on the verge of revolution. At this juncture and to face this condition Dongan came.

#### IV.

In virtue of writs issued by Governor Dongan, twenty-eight representatives from different parts of the Province met in Fort James, October 14, 1683. The session lasted three weeks. Fifteen acts were passed. The most important were: An Act entitled the Charter of Liberties; An Act to divide this Province into Shires and Counties; An Act for the naturalization of foreigners; An Act to settle courts of justice. After three readings each was approved by the Governor. Any one of these enactments would have made this Assembly memorable in the civil history of New York. Every one entered deeply into the political life of the people. Together, they outline a plan of popular government and express principles of individual rights which give to this Assembly a bold and conspicuous place in American constitutional history. We find nothing like it in contemporaneous or previous Colonial history. The struggles of the people in New York for freedom from the oppressive rule of Dongan's Dutch and English predecessors, had prepared the way. He is the statesman who can grasp the actual conditions, and express in legislation the hopes of the

people. This work, under the broad and enlightened leadership of Governor Dongan, the Assembly of 1783 achieved.

"For the better establishing the Government of this Province of New York, and that Justice and Right may be equally done to all persons within the same—

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives now in General Assembly met and assembled and by the authority of the same,

"That the supreme Legislative Authority under His Majesty and Royal Highness Duke of York, the Lord Proprietor of the said Province, shall forever be and reside in a Governor, Council, and the people met in General Assembly."

Here in this city for the first time in American history was asserted the right of the people to participate in their own government, which is the foundation of our entire political superstructure. In no Colonial documents of the time are the words "people met in a General Assembly" to be found, and on account of these words, on March 3, 1685, the Board of Trade and Plantations vetoed the charter.

"That the exercise of the chief Magistracy and Administration of the Government shall be in the Governor, assisted by a Council, with whose advice and consent he is to rule and govern according to the laws thereof," and "in case of death or absence of the Governor, the Council is to be the executive, and the first in nomination in the Council shall preside during the interval." By this enactment the powers of the executive are outlined and clearly distinguished from the legislative functions. For after specifying the counties and the number of representatives to which each was entitled in subsequent assemblies, the charter states that "these or the major part of them shall be deemed and accounted the representatives of this Province, which said representatives, together with the Governor and his Council, shall forever be the supreme and only legislative power under His Royal Highness of the said Province," and adds "that all bills agreed upon by the said representatives or the major part of them shall be presented unto the Governor and his Council for their approbation and consent,

all and every which said bills so approved of, consented to, by the Governor and his Council, shall be esteemed and accounted the laws of the Province, which said laws shall continue and remain of force until they shall be repealed by the authority aforesaid; that is to say, the Governor, Council, and representatives in General Assembly by and with the approbation of His Royal Highness or expire by their own limitations."

Thus, as the King of England had the right of legislation in conjunction with the houses of Parliament, so the Governor is empowered to make laws with the consent of the Council and Assembly. The great principle here expressed is the separation and mutual independence of the executive and the legislature. The idea was new in America, yet it was an element of the English Constitution, fought for in the agitation which produced the Petition of Right under Charles I., yet in full operation under the Restoration. The Governor had a part in legislation by the power of veto, and by acting with the cooperation of the Council and Assembly. The Assembly could not override the Governor's veto, but they could refuse to pass laws, and block legislation. Thus in 1715 Governor Hunter wrote to the Board of Trade that the revenue act was passed in return for his assent to the naturalization act—compromise legislation. The practical result of the separation of the executive and the legislative power in the General Assembly was to make the legislature and not the executive the center of the Province. In this New York took the lead of her sister provinces and maintained that position consistently up to the war of the Revolution. The members of the Assembly were representatives of the people, and through them the people shared in their own government. When, in 1741, Governor Clinton dissolved the Assembly because it would not be subservient to his wishes and the same members were re-elected, they protested that, far from showing disloyalty to the Crown by their action, they showed loyalty to the genius of the English government by obeying the behests of their constituents. Earlier still, at the close of Queen Ann's reign, Chalmers, the English historian says that the government of New York, "was really

changed; far from being monarchical, it was already become democratic." Looking back from our vantage point we see no change of government. What we do see is that the form of government in New York outlined in such a masterly way by Dongan had become the government of a free people through their representatives met in General Assembly. In 1703 the English commissioners report to the English government that "commonwealth notions improve daily and if not checked in time, the rights and privileges of British subjects in America will be thought too narrow. By the provision in the charter that the Governor should pass laws with the consent of his Council, the legislative power had three vetoes. Not only the Governor and the Assembly but the Council had the power to stop legislation. The possession of the power of veto naturally developed into the realization that thereby the Council was constituted a separate branch of the legislature. Thus in 1729 when Governor Cosby insisted on the right to sit and vote in the Council, the Council protested, and the Board of Trade directed him not to act as a member of the legislative council. Thereafter the Council sat apart in its legislative capacity. Forty years, therefore, before the war of the Revolution, the separation of the legislative and executive functions in New York Province was complete. The principle was enunciated by Dongan in his immortal charter, and is so sound and so true to the theory of representative government that to-day it is the controlling idea of our own State and Federal governments. Place the Senate instead of the Council, and an elective Governor instead of an appointed one, and New York State to-day is governed by the Charter of Liberties of 1683, with one addition, viz., the restriction of the Governor's power to indefinitely block legislation by the provision that the Legislature can pass a measure over the Governor's veto by a two-thirds vote.

The provisions of the charter concerning the character and privileges of the representatives were bold and striking. "According to the usage, custom, and practice of the realm of England a session of a General Assembly be held in this Prov-

ince once in three years at least." "That the said representatives may appoint their own times of meeting during their sessions and may adjourn their house from time to time, to such time as to them shall seem meet and convenient." "That the said representatives are the sole judges of the qualifications of their own members, and likewise of all undue elections, and may from time to time purge their house as they shall see occasion during the said sessions." "That no member of the General Assembly during the session or whilst going or returning from the said Assembly shall be arrested, sued, imprisoned, or any ways molested or troubled, nor be compelled to make answer to any suit, bill, plaint, declaration or otherwise, cases of high treason and felony only excepted."

These words are familiar to our ears. They are incorporated in the constitutions of New York State and of the Federal government. They assure the dignity, the independence, the inviolable sanctity of our Legislature. Yet their enactment as statutes and their promulgation by the New York Assembly in 1683 were remarkable and epoch-making. In one bold stroke Dongan took the broad constitutive elements of the English Constitution, and applied them to a frame of government for the Province of New York. These truths date back to the Magna Charta, and express the struggles of a people through hundreds of years, culminating in the Petition of Right. They solemnly declare that the representatives of a people in the discharge of their duties as such, are sacred and inviolable before the law. The representatives of the New York Assembly were elevated to the dignity and granted the privileges and immunities of the House of Commons in England. While these privileges were prized by Englishmen in the mother-country and formed the very life-breath of its government, they marked a startling innovation in British Colonial policy. In 1669 the upper house in Maryland declared that by charter the Assembly was not like the commons of England, but like the Common Council of the city of London, and the Assembly submitted. In thus framing the character of the Assembly of 1683 Dongan lifted the Province of New York

from a dependency of the British crown and made it a constituency of the British empire. He formulated an English Colonial policy far in advance of his time. This action clearly discriminated him from his English predecessors, Nicholls, Lovelace, and Andros, and his English successors, and places him so far above that they dwindle into insignificance. He is the great commanding figure throughout the Colonial period. He made the Assembly of New York a body coordinate with and independent of the great council of the realm. In 1704 Governor Hunter writes to Dean Swift that "this is the plan of government they all aim at and make no scruple to own." Yet these principles, so vital to the liberties of the American Colonists, so dear to Englishmen in England, were directly antagonistic to the policy pursued by the English government of the time toward her American possessions. In the "Frame of Government" drawn up by Penn in 1682 the supremacy of Parliament over the colony is expressly stated. Sir William Jones held that "Charles II. could no more levy taxes on his Colonial subjects" without their consent by an assembly than "they could discharge themselves from their allegiance to the British Crown," and yet held that the British parliament "might rightfully impose taxes on every dominion of the crown." The colonial policy of the British parliament was inaugurated in 1673 by the imposition of duties on exports from the Colonies the same as if the cargoes were landed in England, and decreed that these duties be collected at such places and by such officers as the commissioners of customs in England should appoint. If I may be permitted to make a comparison, the ordinary Englishman of the time looked upon the American Colonist much in the same light as we regard the Filipinos. They were considered a conquered people, and unfit for self-government. The meanest beggar on the streets of London, as a free English subject, was superior, as having more rights and privileges, to "their kin across the seas." In solemnly maintaining that the representatives of the Assembly of 1683 had the rights and privileges of members of Parliament, Dongan stands a majestic figure in those early days, by

his assertion of the true liberties of the American people, and his open denial of the supremacy of Parliament. It is the claim of the people to legislate for themselves. One hundred years after it became the vital issue in the war of American Independence. Thus the principle, matured and strengthened by the English tyranny and misgovernment of one hundred years, gave birth to our own great country, in which we have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and on the other hand when after bitter experience, it was intelligently grasped by the English nation, it became the framework of her colonial policy and has made England the greatest colonial power in the history of Europe.

The supremacy of the people in matters of legislation through their representatives in Assembly is safeguarded and specified by the words of the Charter on the subject of taxation. "No aid, tax, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence or imposition whatsoever shall be laid, assessed, imposed or levied on any of his Majesty's subjects within this province or their estates upon any manner of color or pretence but by the act or consent of the Governor, Council and Representatives of the people in General Assembly met and assembled."

Ninety years before the Boston Tea Party, the principle of "no taxation without representation" was solemnly proclaimed a law of the land in this Assembly of 1683. This principle comes down from early Dutch and English sources. It could thus meet with ready acceptance by the inhabitants of New York Province. With the Dutch it was safeguarded by the Great Privilege of 1474. With the English it goes back to the Magna Charta, and was proclaimed afresh in the Petition of Right in 1629. In actual operation this principle among the Dutch was a vital element of their municipal government; among the English it entered into the framework of municipal government, and just as deeply into national government. With the English therefore taxation by consent was held as firmly as by the Dutch, but it was broader in application because it entered into the government of the state through the representatives of the people.

As a constitutional right the English people fought for their consent to taxation through the stormy period of the seventeenth century. In formulating this doctrine Dongan expressed a right and principle of government then universally acknowledged in England. Not only did he express a doctrine, he initiated also a course which was to make the Province of New York conspicuous in the constitutional struggle for self-government. The doctrine that no taxation was legal without the consent of the Assembly came in a short time to mean the control of the Assembly in financial legislation. Hence, in 1707, the bills for the support of legislation were temporary. By control of the purse the Assembly checked the abuse of the executive function. As the representative of the people the Assembly claimed to be the constitutional guardian of their money. In the official proceedings of the New York Legislature it is expressly stated that the reason why means should be taken to prevent corrupt expenditure is doubt as to the integrity of the executive in the general oversight of public expenditures. Thus the Assembly was not only organized public opinion, and a constitutional means of expressing public opinion: it was also a critical body empowered to inspect accounts and eager to detect abuses in administration. Furthermore, as guardian of the people's money the Assembly claimed the right to appoint not only its own treasurer, but also the officers charged with the collection, custody, and disbursement of public funds. For fifty years the contest on the supply bill was carried on; salaries were granted annually and specifically by name to the persons then holding office. This policy, recognized to-day in our State and Federal constitutions as essential to the efficient administration of a popular government, was laid down in the Assembly of 1683, worked out and tested by the actual experience of the Legislature of New York.

The Charter of Liberties gives a final safeguard to popular government by its enactments as to the choice of representatives. "Every freeholder within this province and freemen in any corporation shall have his free choice and vote in the electing of the representatives without any manner of con-



strait or imposition. And that in all elections the majority of voices shall carry it, and by freeholders is understood every one who is so understood according to the laws of England." In case of death or removal, the vacancy is to be filled by special election of freeholders of the district by virtue of writs issued by the Governor. The establishment of universal freehold suffrage in the election of representatives brought the Assembly close to the people, and made it their constitutional organ, so that its acts were the acts of the people.

The remaining clauses of the charter proclaim the doctrine of individual and religious liberty. In strong and ringing words it is decreed "that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or be outlawed or exiled or any way destroyed nor shall be passed upon, adjudged, or condemned, but by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the laws of this Province. Justice nor Right shall be neither sold, denied, or deferred to any man within this province." "That no man of what estate or condition soever shall be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor banished, nor anyways destroyed without being brought to answer by due course of the law." "All trials shall be by the verdict of twelve men and as near as may be peers or equals, and of the neighborhood and in the county, shire, or division where the fact shall arise or grow." "That in all cases, capital or criminal, there shall be a grand inquest which shall first present the offence, and then twelve men of the neighborhood to try the offender, who after his plea to the indictment, shall be allowed his reasonable challenges." "That in all cases whatsoever bail by sufficient sureties shall be allowed and taken unless for treason or felony plainly and specially expressed and mentioned in the warrant of commitment or when the persons have been legally sentenced." There shall be no martial law, nor quartering of soldiers upon the inhabitants. "No court shall by writ sell a man's land without his consent, unless in satisfaction of a just debt." "A widow after the death of her husband shall have as her dower the third part of all the lands of her husband." The closing sentence is a fit peroration to this remarkable document, "That

no person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall at any time be any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinion or matter of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the Province, but that all and every such person or persons may, from time to time and at all times freely, have and fully enjoy his or their judgments or consciences in matters of Religion throughout all this Province, they behaving themselves peacefully and quietly and not using this liberty to licentiousness nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others."

Such is the famous Charter of Liberties. In the constitutional history of a people a document of its character could be framed but once. It has so many distinctive features, breathes forth so lofty and eloquent a spirit, that it stands forth apart and alone. In the history of New York Province, it appears like the mighty oak of the forest, pushing its roots deep in the ground and stretching out its branches wide and aloft. The Bill of Rights passed by the New York Assembly of 1691 is often cited as underlying our State and national liberties. But the Bill of Rights is a repetition almost word for word of the Charter of 1683, and was evidently drawn up with the charter at hand. Its opening sentences lack the bold dignity of the charter, and its closing clause secured freedom to all Christians except "any person of the Romish religion."

The Assembly of 1683 did not complete its work with the Charter of Liberties. It passed an act for the naturalization of foreigners, and enacted that any Christian might become a naturalized citizen of the Province by taking the oath of allegiance. Thus early the Province of New York was made the natural home and refuge for the oppressed in every land.

In Chapter IV of the Acts of this assembly provision is made for the division of the Province into counties. Twelve counties are named, ten of which are within the present limits of the Province. Only one county, Yorkshire, previously existed, having been created by Nicholls in 1664. The division into counties established the system of county courts, of keep-

ing county records, of county government, and the designation of representatives by counties. With the division into counties the enduring principles of English common law were introduced. These provisions exist to-day. Our county government, with its Board of Supervisors, justly regarded as a fundamental element in the State government, dates back to the Assembly of 1683.

A final achievement of this assembly are the acts to settle courts of justice. We have seen how, in the Charter of Liberties, the functions of the Legislature were separated from the Executive. Dongan strives now to uphold the independence of the judiciary. When he came to New York he found town courts, courts of sessions in the ridings of Yorkshire, the court of assizes with its yearly session in New York City, and the court of the Governor and his Council. By this act he established: 1. Town courts to be held every month by commissioners of the peace; 2. County courts, or courts of sessions to be held quarterly or half-yearly, as occasion might require; 3. Courts of oyer and terminer with criminal and civil jurisdiction to be held by judges and justices; 4. Court of Chancery which should be deemed the Supreme Court of the Province to be held by the Governor and his Council, the Governor having the power to depute a Chancellor in his stead. In 1686 Dongan to these added the Court of Exchequer to better settle controversies concerning lands and revenues. This at the time was known as the Court of Judicature, and its judges were the Governor and Council. From these courts was guaranteed an appeal to the King. In 1684 Dongan appointed Thomas Rudyard Attorney General of the Province. By organization of a regular system of courts with the right of trial by jury, Dongan limited the judicial authority of the Governor, separated the judiciary from the executive and strove for the independence of the judiciary. A striking illustration of this independence is shown in the famous Zenger trial. Zenger was arrested for publishing a libel on Governor Cosby. The grand jury failed to respond to the appeal of Chief Justice DeLancey. The Council then sent a message to the Assembly

and the Assembly laid it on the table. The Council then ordered the papers to be burned. Zenger was arrested on an order from the Governor and Council and an unsuccessful effort was made to pack the jury.

The independence of the Judiciary and its separation from the Executive was another vital question on which England pursued different policies at home and in America. In the case of Bland against the Governor of Virginia, the Board of Trade, in 1675, refused to admit Bland's right to a jury trial, expressly declaring that while this claim would be valid in England, yet in the Colonies the Governor and Council had "extraordinary powers" "for emergent occasions." In England however the Judiciary had gained independence of the Crown and the administration of justice had passed to the courts, the jurisdiction of which could not be changed without an act of Parliament. Hampden and Pym had contended for this, and it was safeguarded by the Petition of Right.

Dongan only strove to apply these principles to the Province of New York. This he did by organizing the system of courts by special enactment, and by declaring in the Charter of Liberties that the inhabitants of New York should be governed by and according to the laws of England. In its observation on the charter the Board of Trade states that this latter "privilege is not granted to any of his majesty's plantations where the Act of Habeas Corpus and all such other bills do not take place." Yet the independence of the Judiciary was a necessary consequence of the character of the New York Assembly and the constitution of its government. Dongan laid the plan, and the issue was fought out during the eighteenth century. The Assembly of New York declared its intention of granting no salaries to judges unless the commissions were during good behavior. The Board of Trade insisted on the appointment during pleasure, because this method strengthened dependence on England, and because of the course followed by the Assembly of fixing salaries by temporary grants. In 1765 the Assembly was forced to submit, yet the popular feeling remained and found expression in the Declaration of Inde-

pendence: "He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the terms of their offices."

With such a government it is easy to understand why the Province of New York took a leading position among the original thirteen States. In a letter to Chief Justice Jay, John Adams wrote that the first constitution of New York excelled that of all other States. The principles which we now regard as the pride and safety of our common weal were worked out and tested by her colonial government. Attorney General Randolph of Virginia states that the contests of her Colonists with the Royal Governors were conducted with signal ability, and pronounced their protests and arguments to be the ablest expositions of the rights of popular representatives. The first convention for Colonial union assembled in Albany, July 4, 1754. The second convention met in New York in 1765, when nine colonies united to oppose taxation by Parliament. A declaration of rights was drawn up, a petition was sent to the King, and a memorial to both houses of Parliament. The delegates resolved: 1. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people that no taxes be laid upon them but with their own consent given personally or by their representatives; 2. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are the persons chosen therein by themselves for that purpose; 3. That no taxes can be constitutionally imposed on the people of these colonies, but by their grants made in person or by their representatives; 4. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every freeman in these colonies. These resolutions were passed with special application to the Stamp Act and to extending jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty. Yet they were solemnly proclaimed and explicitly incorporated into the government of New York Province by the Charter of Liberties in the Assembly of 1683. And in the *Letters from a Farmer*, 1767 (p. 148), we read that the suspension of the New York Assembly took place because the Assembly by its enactment incurred "disobedience to the authority of the British legislature." This suspension was a parliamentary assertion of the supreme authority of the British legislature

over the Colonies in the point of taxation. Yet almost one hundred years before, the New York Assembly had denied this claim, and asserted itself to be a legislative body independent of Parliament, and coequal to it in rights and privileges.

The charter was signed by Dongan October 30th, and on the following day solemnly proclaimed at the City Hall. The Duke of New York signed and sealed the charter October 4, 1684. The following spring at the death of Charles, James, Duke of York became King, and New York became a royal province. Its government passed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Board of Trade and Plantations, who vetoed the charter March 3, 1685. By the death of Charles a new election of representatives was considered necessary. Dongan issued writs and the second Assembly convened October 20, 1685. After passing several acts it adjourned to September 25, 1686. September 14, 1686, Dongan received his instructions. In the meantime—September 4, 1686, he had adjourned the assembly until March 25, 1687, and on January 20, 1687, Dongan issued a proclamation that the General Assembly was dissolved. April 7, 1688, James sent the commission to Andros, who on August 11th assumed government of New York.

In the *Colon. Entry Bk.*, Vol. LXXIII, p. 1. a., under date of September 14, 1686, *minutes of the council of New York*, we read that Dongan took the oaths on receiving his new commission and instructions; Charter of Liberties drawn up by General Assembly read and repealed. No word of reading the charter or of repealing it found in Mss. copy of Council Minutes, Vol. V., in New York State Library; we only find "the Gov. was pleased to read some of his instructions to the Council." It is interesting to note that Lesler assumed the charter to be in force.

It is true that James as King repealed the charter and dissolved the Assembly, but he acted on recommendation of the Board of Trade and in line with the English policy and opinion of the times. Gov. Sloughter vetoed the Bill of Right in 1691, and William, in 1687, disallowed it because he deemed it incongruous for a *subordinate* legislature to declare what are its privileges.

Thus within the short space of sixty years after its first permanent settlement, the Province of New York secured the priceless boon of civil and political liberty. Its form of government, as outlined by the Charter of Liberties and the Acts of the Assembly of 1683, shows a broader and stronger grasp of the principles of popular rights than as yet had taken constructive shape on the American continent. What appears in the political history of the other Colonies as adumbrations or partial expressions or statements of popular hopes, are here found in the full bloom of maturity and enunciated in solemn language as existing facts. While the growth of American political institutions can be traced in its last analysis to agitation for popular rights, arising from various and yet somewhat similar conditions in each of the original colonies, and in the case of New York, Massachusetts and Maryland to the struggle for individual liberty in the mother countries across the sea, yet the true birthplace is the Province of New York, and the broad foundation and symmetrical framework is found in the Assembly of 1683. For this reason the Charter of Liberties is justly pronounced to be the Magna Charta of American liberty.

## V.

The present discussion would not be complete without an attempt to inquire into the source of this epoch-making document. The study is most interesting, and of vital importance to the American student. A true appreciation of the liberties which we enjoy is obtained not merely by the study of popular discontent and agitation for political rights carried on through the successive stages of our country's growth. A far more illuminating topic is the investigation of the constitutions which, as expressing the will of the governed, form the framework of our nation, the search for preexisting types of which they are at least the modified expression, and the tracing of their gradual development into the strong and great fabric of American government. The difficulties which beset the study make it all the more inviting. The study of American colonial

history has been too much neglected. A broad, scholarly, philosophical treatise on the form, the rise, and the growth of government in the Colonies has yet to be written.

The preceding pages show the long and continuous struggle for political and civil liberty carried on by the inhabitants of the New York Province under the Dutch Directors and the early English Governors. The Assembly of 1683 gave the constitutional expression to their hopes and struggles. The student and the reader, however, are impressed by the unique character of that constitution. The elevation of thought, the bold language, the broad spirit, with the just and ready recognition of the minute and diverse details of a rapidly growing cosmopolitan Province, gave to the acts of the first New York Provincial Assembly a character which cannot be explained by a development from existing conditions. In passing from New York under the Dutch Directors and the early English Governors, to New York under Dongan, we enter a new country and breathe a different atmosphere. This difference is a fact so evident that the superficial reader is impressed. The true explanation, however, requires searching analysis and close discrimination, and gives an insight into the struggles for constitutional rights which have left so deep an impression on the seventeenth century as to make it the source of modern political history.

The two dominant peoples in the Province of New York were the Dutch and the English. Under the Dutch Directors the inhabitants repeatedly protested against the grievances they suffered, and demanded that the West India Company and the States-General grant them the rights and privileges of free denizens of Holland. Under the early English Governors the protests are repeated. In this latter case the inhabitants proclaim themselves free English citizens, and as such petition for the rights and privileges which his majesty's subjects in the other Colonies enjoy. At first sight the student is apt to infer that the object sought for is identical. The same words lead us to believe that what was sought for was the same. A grievous mistake is thus made, and our study is involved in



hopeless confusion. The free denizens of Holland had not the same rights and privileges as English subjects. The government of Holland had only reached a half-way stage in the evolution of democracy. England possessed a strong central government, in which the people had a share through their representatives in Parliament. The central-government of Holland was the States-General, which was constituted by delegates sent from the municipalities. These delegates were not representatives in the English sense of the word, but only envoys, with definite instructions as to what to advocate and how to vote. Thus Holland possessed a loose central government; its real seat of power rested in the municipalities. As a constitutional document, therefore, the Charter of Liberties cannot be regarded as an inheritance from the Dutch. Yet the Dutch traditions were too deeply seated in the minds of the people to be easily eradicated. In proof of this it is interesting to observe that in the years immediately succeeding the war of the Revolution, when the form of government for the thirteen colonies was under discussion, New York was the seat of the two great parties—Federalist and Anti-Federalist. The former championed a strong central government—the English idea; the latter advocated the States-Rights platform and a loose central government—an idea which had been handed down by the Dutch.

Closer investigation serves to show more clearly how impossible it is to trace the constitution of New York Province outlined by the Assembly of 1683 to the influence of the Dutch. Representation to the Assembly was regulated by counties, and the number of representatives from each county was determined by the number of its inhabitants. The patroons and large landholders as such had no special representation. In Holland, on the contrary, the feudal nobility were recognized, and were allowed to send special delegates to the States-General. In the actual discharge of their duties the representatives of the New York Assembly were like the members of the English Parliament, and totally unlike the delegates to the States-General. In fact Governor Dongan expressly invested them with the

rights and privileges enjoyed by the members of the English House of Commons. Nor does the constitution of New York Province, outlined by Governor Dongan, reveal in its words or in its actual working any trace of a government by committees, so characteristic of the Holland Republic. With the Dutch, popular election obtained only in the first choice of officials. The system of double nominations and appointment of successors was then followed as the ordinary method of filling vacancies. How utterly unlike is the procedure laid down by the Charter of Liberties with its broad suffrage and its constant appeal to the popular vote. Again the Dutch adopted the arbitration method of administering justice. Traces of this are even now had in the reference cases, so distinctive of New York State jurisprudence. But the grand jury system and the trial by jury so clearly laid down by Governor Dongan as the ordinary judicial procedure must be traced to English sources.

If the constitution of New York Province outlined by the Assembly of 1683 is not of Dutch parentage, yet we cannot deny that, indirectly at least, the Dutch settlers contributed very much to its adoption. They brought from the mother-country the great ideas, though imperfectly developed, of municipal liberties, of taxation and legislation by the people. They fought according to their lights, and consistently, for the exercise of these rights according to the interpretation and practice of Holland. Their cosmopolitan spirit, their broad and liberal toleration, their repeated agitations against oppression and abuses, served to make the ground fallow, and to prepare in time for the constructive genius of Dongan. It is safe to assert that, without this help, the New York Province would not have been fitted for the broad liberal policy of Dongan, would not have accepted it so intelligently nor clung to it so consistently throughout the trying times of the eighteenth century.

If we examine the charters and constitutions by which the English colonies of the seventeenth century were governed, we fail to find in any the prototype of the Charter of Liberties.

The corporate colonies of New England, by reason of their origin, form, proximity to New York, and much vaunted spirit of liberty, merit first and special attention. For purposes of comparison Massachusetts may be selected. The others were either offshoots of this colony or closely resembled it in the fundamental lines of government. In Massachusetts we find the gradual and natural development from a colonial or trading corporation into a corporate colony or Puritan commonwealth. Originally it was a trade corporation governed by a general court in England. Later, the Governor, Deputy Governor, assistants and a number of the patentees came over and settled in Massachusetts, bringing the charter with them. The first meeting of the General Court in the colony took place October 19, 1630. The merging of the corporation into the colony was gradually effected by the admission of freemen, by the dispersion of the inhabitants and the formation of towns, and by the development of deputies or delegates to the General Court, whose duties were to represent the various localities. As in the company, so in the colony the General Court was the source of power. It assumed the rights of the executive. The Governor had not the power of veto. He was simply the president of the General Court of the colony as he had been of the Court of the corporation in England. As Governor he had no part in legislation, but in case of tie had the casting vote. In 1641 Bradford resigned the trusteeship and the patent into the possession of the freemen of the colony assembled in General Court. From that time the freemen were the actual possessors of political power. Thus the form of government in New England bore the strong impress of the Cromwell Parliament. It exemplified the idea that the executive was the agent of Parliament, by making the Governor the agent of the General Court. A like condition obtained in Virginia from 1652 to 1660, when the Governor and Council were chosen by the Assembly, which had become the real source of power. In Virginia with the Restoration the old order was restored without a struggle. In Massachusetts the idea had taken deep root, continued longer in operation, and was only changed by

the abrogation of the charter in 1681 through a *quo warranto* proceeding. In New York, however, the executive was the rival and competitor of the lower house. The spirit of the Massachusetts' colony was deeply religious, of a narrow, intolerant, and puritanical character. An organic connection existed between Church and State. This gave rise to a religious autocratic tyranny. For fifty years the magistrates and clergy constituted the governing class. The right of suffrage was restricted by the religious test. Any inhabitant not a member of the Puritan Church was thereby disfranchised. Such a narrow oligarchy could never have developed into the broad and liberal constitution of the Charter of Liberties. New England bears the stamp and breathes the spirit of Cromwell. Fortunate it was for New York Province that during this period the Dutch held sway, and presented at once a barrier to the spread of New England fanaticism and a refuge to those who were forced to flee from its tyranny. Yet it was this narrow form of government which the English settlers of Long Island petitioned for, when they sought to have New York modelled after the government of Massachusetts.

A comparison of the New York Assembly of 1683 with the forms of government existing in the provinces of Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey, shows clearly that the New York constitution in spirit and form is much superior, that it cannot be referred to any of these as to a model, and that what seems alike in all can be referred to another source. From 1624 Virginia was a royal province; from the beginning Maryland and New Jersey were proprietary. In a discussion of this delicate subject it must be borne in mind that in none of the English charters was the existence of an assembly and the consequent enjoyment of political rights by the colonists guaranteed in mandatory terms. In the New York charter of 1664 it was not even mentioned. Much, therefore, depended on the discretion of the proprietary and local authorities. The attitude of proprietors to their provinces was that of landholders to their estates. The possession of governmental powers by charters from the crown invested them with the

dignity and attributes of territorial lords. They thus became the source and center of power in their respective provinces. The old English tradition that legislation and taxation be guarded by a representative body, the preservation of which gave rise to the profound disturbances in England during the seventeenth century, was not in accord with the possession of legislative authority by the executive of the English colonies in America. Distance from England, the increase of small landholders, the rapidly rising difficulties of new and growing settlements, the necessity of common defence against the Indians, the conflicting interests of commerce, the existence of adjacent provinces, the administration of justice and of internal affairs, served to accentuate the native rights and privileges so dear to Englishmen, and caused the gradual growth of legislatures in some form, which, while modifying the original powers of the proprietor granted by charter, proved to be indispensable instruments of government to proprietor and provincial. The existence of these forces can be traced in the early history of all the Colonies, and was the potent influence which modified and transformed their form and character. In Virginia the change was most rapid. Settled in 1609 by a trading company, it soon became a proprietorship, and, in 1624, a royal colony. In 1619 the first Colonial legislature was assembled under instructions from the company or proprietor in England. This assembly fully admitted the right of the company to disallow its acts, yet requested that they might be regarded as in force until report of their rejection should come from England, and also asked that in due time the assembly might be authorized to disallow orders of the company's court, as the court was empowered to reject acts of the assembly. In 1624 Sir Francis Wyatt was appointed successor to Governor Yeardley. The assembly of that year was given free power to treat, consult, and conclude, concerning the public weal of the province on "all emergent occasions" and also to enact such general laws and orders for its government as from time to time should appear necessary. The promise was also given that after the government of the province had become well

established, no orders of the company's court should bind the colony unless ratified by its general assemblies. This promise was never fulfilled, and Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, writes: "It remained only a benevolent promise, and is to be classed with the many assertions of full legislative competence made by colonial assemblies as suggestive claims rather than sober statements of facts" (p. 95). The same writer adds, "The instructions to Wyatt, which gave to the Governor the casting vote in council and judicial tribunal and the negative voice in the assembly, which required the observance in administrative and judicial concerns of the forms of English law and which were largely concerned with affairs of land and trade, expressed more clearly the spirit of the British colonial system than did the promise which implied a contractual relation between the colony and the proprietor."

Maryland was a proprietary province, with Governor, Council, and Assembly. But the assembly, as in Virginia, was not a legislature in the true meaning of the term. In 1669 the upper house declared that by charter the assembly was not like the Commons of England but like the Common Council of the city of London, and the assembly submitted to the ruling. It therefore could not make laws, but could pass ordinances and the like. Hence the executive, not the legislature, was the center of the province. Compared with the New York Assembly of 1683, Maryland represents a half-way development of political liberty. In its broad toleration of religious belief alone can it claim precedence. Yet it is interesting to note that Lord Baltimore and Governor Dongan were Catholics.

In the New Jersey "Concessions" granted in 1665 by the proprietor, Sir George Carteret, a general assembly, to which the inhabitants should elect representatives, was empowered to meet every year. In this document we read that "no tax, custom, subsidy, tallage, assessment or any other duty whatsoever upon any color or pretence should be imposed upon the said province and the inhabitants thereof, other than what

shall be imposed by the authority and consent of the said General Assembly and then only in the manner aforesaid." These words were borrowed from the Petition of Right wrung from Charles I., 1628, recognized by him in the charter to Maryland 1632, and adopted by the Assembly of New York in 1683. Through the dissensions of its members the New Jersey Assembly adjourned *sine die* in 1668. While this constitution breathes the spirit of popular government, the actual conditions of the province constrain us to regard it as a sporadic outbreak, as was the case with the first constitution of the Carolinas. We miss the solidity, breadth, and permanence characteristic of the First General Assembly of New York.

Not on the shores of the New World therefore, but in England must we seek the source and type of the Charter of Liberties. But here at first a confusing spectacle meets our gaze. England, during the seventeenth century, was in a state of profound agitation for civil and political rights. For our present purpose we may distinguish three periods: England under James I. and Charles I., England under Cromwell, and England after the restoration of Charles II. in 1660. Under James I. the English people were governed by a monarch who proclaimed the divine right of kings in so odious and tyrannous a sense that the very words have been hated ever after. The clergy of the Established Church, under the leadership of Archbishop Laud, were the open champions of this doctrine. Speaking in Parliament James declared "that God had appointed him absolute master, and that all privileges which co-legislative bodies enjoyed were pure concessions proceeding from the bounty of kings." Charles I. continued the doctrine and policy of his father. The inevitable reaction followed. The English people under the leadership of Eliot, Pym, and Hampden forced Charles to sign the Petition of Right in 1628. This remarkable document is a more complete enunciation of the principles embodied in the Magna Charta; and both together form the framework of modern England, and lie at the basis of modern constitutional liberties. Charles disregarded the warning, refused to be guided by the document

he had signed, and ultimately met death upon the scaffold. England seethed in a popular revolution, and the outcome was the Puritan Commonwealth. In seeking escape from one form of tyranny, the country fell under a worse. Cromwell was a man of blood and iron, a narrow religious fanatic. This second period is called the Commonwealth; in reality it was the rule of a despot. Not until the restoration of Charles II., whom Englishmen welcomed with a unanimity that is surprising, did England regain its equilibrium, and enter upon a new phase of its history under the benignant influence of the Petition of Right. Not until thirty years after its adoption did the broad principles of this constitution enter into the life and government of the English people. In the agitation for the Petition of Right, Hampden, Pym, and Eliot were not the only champions for popular rights and for the true theory of government. The great Catholic theologian Suarez, then a professor at the University of Coimbra, entered the lists against the doctrine of James I. In a treatise *On Laws*, Book III., and in a special work, entitled *Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith against the Errors of the Anglican sect, Accompanied by a Reply to the Apology for the Oath of Fidelity and to the Monitory Preface Published by the Most Serene James, King of England*, and addressed to the most serene kings and princes of the Christian world, this great theologian places himself by the side of those who fought for and obtained the Petition of Right. He tells us that "the most serene king not only gives a new and singular opinion, but also acrimoniously attacks Cardinal Bellarmine for having affirmed that kings hold their power not from the people, but *immediately* from God." And "although this controversy does not immediately concern the dogmas of faith (for we have nothing in reference to it either in the Scriptures or in the Fathers), it may nevertheless be well to discuss and explain it carefully: because it might possibly lead to error in other dogmas, because the above opinion of the King, as he maintains and explains it, is new, singular, and apparently invented to exalt the temporal at the expense of the spiritual power; and be-



cause we consider the opinion of the illustrious Bellarmine *ancient, received, true and necessary.*" In explaining the origin of civil power Suarez follows the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, that "the power is not vested *directly* in the individual, but in the entire collection of men, or in the community" (S. Theol. 1. 2. q. 90, a. 3. q. 97, a. 3.).

The source and type of the New York Provincial constitution becomes evident. The Charter of Liberties reflects England of the Restoration. Governor Dongan took the broad framework of the English government and placed it upon the Province of New York. It was the act of a statesman, which elevates its author above the Englishmen of his time, and gives him a hallowed place in American history. At a time when the charters of New England were abolished by a *quo warranto* proceeding, when the charter of Pennsylvania, granted in 1684, distinctly admits the right of Parliament to tax the Colony, when Charles II. directed that in Kirke's commission as Governor of New England, November 17, 1684, "no mention be made of an assembly but that the Governor and Council have power to make laws and to perform all the acts of government till his majesty's pleasure be further known," when the King was revoking the charters of the oldest municipalities in England, Dongan governed the Province of New York as a constituency of the British empire. For two hundred years the charter of the city of Albany, and for one hundred and thirty years the charter of the city of New York, remained unaltered as they left his hands, in spite of the great progress made during this period in the growth and development of popular government. It is true that James II. repealed the charter. Yet the Bill of Rights was promptly vetoed by Governor Sloughter in 1691, and in 1697 was disallowed by William, because he deemed it incongruous for a subordinate legislature to declare "what are its own privileges." It is a fact that Lesler assumed the charter in force and called an assembly in 1690, although after Lesler's execution this assembly was declared invalid as being the work of a province in rebellion. The resolution of the assembly of 1691 declaring all previous acts null and void was

not concurred in by the upper house, and never passed into a law. In 1853 the New York Court of Appeals (9 N. Y. Reports, p. 346), held that the resolution of 1691 "was not intended as a repeal, but as a statement of fact that they had been disallowed or discontinued by the late King." Whatever be the legal or technical value of the acts of the assembly of 1683, they in fact entered deeply into the minds and lives of the people, faithfully translated their aims and hopes, and formed the program of the political agitation of later years which culminated in the Declaration of Independence. The Assembly of 1683 placed the Province of New York in the leadership of the other Colonies. Albany was called by the Indians "the ancient place of treaties." Agents or representatives came there from Nova Scotia and the Carolinas for treaties. The unions of 1690, of 1754, of 1765, show its pre-eminence. In 1721 the Lords of Trade and Plantations urged the crown to make it the seat of government of a captain general, who should have control over all the Colonies in matters relating to Indian affairs and the interests of the King.

Although Dongan's term of office was comparatively short, yet the principles he stood for were destined to be immortal. One hundred years later they were solemnly vindicated in the sight of the world by the treaty of peace with England, which crowned the great struggle for American independence. These principles yet live in the present constitution of our great State and of our great Republic. The constitution of the New York Assembly of 1683 embodies the policy which England to-day follows in the government of her colonies. It constitutes the present form of the governments of Canada and of Australia, and within the last few months was projected as the plan of government for the Transvaal. It is the program which has made England a world-wide power. Taught by bitter experience she aims, through this policy, at world-wide sway, and she now stretches friendly hands across the sea to a people whose power she fears and whose alliance she seeks, but whose rights she ignored and whose liberties she repeatedly strove to crush.

So great was the influence of Dongan that for a year after the abrogation of the Assembly until he resigned the governorship into the hands of Andros, he maintained a deep hold upon the people, and conducted his office with dignity and strength. The inhabitants of the Province may have been disappointed, but we read of no popular uprisings. His successor, Andros, governed only eight months when the Lesler rebellion fanned the Province into a flame. Among the people of the Colony Dongan stands supreme and alone. The tribute of history to his personal charm, his integrity and character, is outspoken and universal. He stood without a rival. He found the Colony bankrupt and on the verge of rebellion. He made it strong, secure, the abode of peace and justice. If he were merely the mouthpiece and figurehead for others, or if he had rivals in the work, they fail to appear. The policy of Dongan in the government of the Colony and in his relations to the Indians was not supported by James II. or by the Board of Trade and Plantations. Eight months after he surrendered the office of governor to Andros, the Province was convulsed with rebellion. Lesler assumed control, and as the leader of the popular party convoked the Assembly. A religious fanatic, a fierce and tyrannical man, he fails in comparison with Dongan. We miss the broad spirit, the keen intelligence, the calm majesty, so conspicuous in the figure of the great Colonial Governor. Dongan justly deserved to be called the greatest colonial statesman of the seventeenth century. He rises to a place by the side of Hamilton, Jefferson, and the great leaders of the Revolution.

He took the tangled threads of fate  
And wove them in a frame of State,  
Fit emblem of a nations hope.

But if America at the time fails to produce a greater figure than Dongan, let us cross the seas and contrast him with the English statesmen of the period. He gains by the contrast, and acquires an added luster. It may seem rash, but we shall select the greatest of them all. Cromwell stands forth the most conspicuous figure in English history of the seventeenth

century. He is the pride and glory of Englishmen, is considered one of her greatest sons, and is confidently compared to the greatest leaders and statesmen of any time. Cromwell sprang into fame as colonel of a regiment of infantry in the war of the Commonwealth. Dongan, an exile from Ireland, where his family held important places in the government, became colonel of a regiment under Turenne, when the armies of Louis swept Europe and when to be a Marshal of France was to be a king. Afterwards he was recalled to England by Charles II., and appointed Vice-Governor of Tangiers. By education, tradition, and life he was of a broad, cosmopolitan spirit, and thoroughly instructed in the theory of government.

The condition of England during the closing years of the reign of Charles I. was somewhat like the state of New York Province on the eve of Dongan's arrival. The tyrannical rule of James I., followed by the lawlessness of Charles I., brought England to the brink of revolution. We sympathize with Eliot, Hampden, and Pym, just as we sympathize with the aims and efforts of the early Colonists of New York. In the revolution which followed Cromwell rose and became the foremost man in England. To him was given the work of reconstruction. He was to express in a form of government the hopes and liberties for which the people had struggled. But Cromwell failed to meet the great opportunity. A man of blood and iron, he devastated England, and ruled by the strong arm of his soldiers. His subjection of Ireland records deeds that have made his name infamous, and have left a shameful blot on English history. At his death, England beheld the fall of the Commonwealth and rejoiced. Charles II. was welcomed, and with the Restoration the period of modern England was ushered in. Cromwell retarded the development of English constitutional liberty. Dongan, by the Assembly of 1683, brought peace out of rebellion, planned with the foresight of a statesman, gave to the New World its first great constitutional charter, formulated a frame of government which has developed into our glorious Republic, and achieved a name

and a fame that will last as long as free government exists on the American continent.

Dongan returned to England impoverished. By an act of Parliament, in 1702, he was recognized as the successor to the estates of his brother, the Earl of Limerick, but he was only allowed to redeem these on the payment of the claims of purchasers from the Earl of Athlone. In 1704 he petitioned Queen Anne stating "that if one-third of what was due him were paid he would release the rest, and that it would be better under the circumstances to live in Turkey than in England." In a petition referred to the Commissioners of the Treasury in 1714 he states that after paying his brother's debts and his own, he had but little left for his support. By his will, dated 1713, he directs that he be buried at an expense of not over £100, and leaves the residue of his estate to his niece, the wife of Colonel Nugent, who afterwards became a Marshal of France. He died in 1715 at the age of eighty-one years, and his body was interred in the churchyard of St. Pancras, London.

Such was Governor Dongan—an Irish exile, whose life reads stranger than romance, whose name casts a splendor over history, whose deeds enshrine his person among the people with whom he dwelt, and shed a reflected glory on his distant native land.

three years in the most unassuming way lessened the burdens of the pastorate for his uncle at Liesberg, John Frey completed his theological studies at the Universities of Bonn and of Tübingen and was ordained a priest in May, 1854.\* His first Mass was a great feast day for the Catholics of the neighborhood, especially as the preacher of the day was Gregory Haas, who had come a great distance from the western part of Switzerland. At that time there were no railroads, it must be remembered. After a pleasant trip through the Cantons of St. Gall and the Grisons and the Five Lake Cantons, the two friends parted, putting off the final decision of their vocation to a later time.

A few months after his ordination, John Frey was elected to the chaplaincy of a parish in Sirnach, Thurgau, by popular vote, a custom which still prevails in most of the Swiss Cantons. These were happy days for both chaplain and parishioners, and neither wished for a change. But after a stay of eight months at Sirnach another parish chose the young priest for its pastor, without his knowledge. In order to save the parish (Schönholzweilen) from trouble and humiliation, he accepted. Since the days of the Reformation this parish had been vacant, as the majority of the inhabitants of this large village were followers of the teachings of Zwingli. The election of a Catholic priest to the parish, after three hundred years, was hailed as a happy event by all, even by the Protestants. At the head of a large procession, the Zwinglian pastor and his parishioners came to meet his new colleague and to escort him to the Catholic church. It must not be forgotten that the Protestants also paid the expenses of this reception which were not inconsiderable.

\* On May 25th, by the Right Rev. Bishop Peter Mirrer of St. Gall. He was a colleague of the Rev. John Martin Henni, afterwards Archbishop of Milwaukee, and was born in the same parish in the Swiss Canton of Grisons. When, in 1862, Bishop Henni on a visit to Rome called on the friend of his youth, at St. Gall, the present Archbishop of Milwaukee, the Most Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, Henni's third successor, then a fifteen-year-old student at the seminary of St. George, had the good fortune to serve the Mass of the American Bishop, in the old Benedictine cathedral.

Urged by the earnest entreaty of many brethren of our Province, I (Father Bonaventure\*) have determined, in the evening of my life, to gather my reminiscences connected with the foundation of our province. Perhaps God, who in His wise Providence often chooses the small and insignificant to carry out His designs, will be glorified thereby. Mayhap those who come after us will be prompted to return thanks to God long after we shall have turned to dust.

As the story of the foundation of the province stretches over nearly half a century, the writer's memory may have failed him in some details. His conscience, however, with God's help, will guard him against reporting anything false, or attributing to himself the glory which belongs to God.

In 1850 two students, Gregory Haas, from the Canton of Soleure, and John A. Frey, from the Canton of Thurgau, met at the University of Freiburg, Baden, famous at that time for a faculty which included Professors Hirscher, Staudenmayer, and Alban Stolz. Soon there sprang up between the young men a warm friendship, which was destined to last for life. From early youth there was implanted in both their hearts a strong desire to become priests, and then to devote themselves to the missions. How soon and where, were questions they left to Divine Providence; their eyes, however, were turned to China, if it should be possible to go there.

In 1850 Gregory Haas, having completed his theological studies, and made a stay of four weeks in the seminary, was ordained to the priesthood. During these four weeks he took his state examination before a radical board of examiners, and passed it to the admiration of all. His first appointment was a place as assistant to his uncle, pastor at Liesberg in the Canton of Bern. Here he received no other salary than three meals a day. The monotony of this Alpine village life was broken only by the annual visits of his university friend, who spent his vacation with him every year. During the happy days they thus spent together, they often spoke of their missionary projects, but without any decided aim. While Gregory Haas for

\* The name in religion of John Frey.







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V. Bonaventura Aug. 1892



During the beautiful spring days of the year 1855, the news spread that a young man from the city of Wyl had returned from America on a visit. He had gone there many years before. At the time America was an unknown land to the people of Switzerland, and the arrival of an emigrant to this new part of the world, was looked upon as a great event. I, too, was eager to hear news from this new "Promised Land" and therefore was one of the first to visit the young man. During our long walk through the city and its suburbs, the chief topic of our earnest conversation was the life of the missionaries, and the young man showed more than an ordinary knowledge of the subject. Whether by accident or by Divine Providence, the road we traveled led to the door of a Capuchin convent. Curiously I asked my companion: "Are there any Capuchins in America?" He paused shortly to think and then answered, "To my knowledge all the Orders are represented in America, but Capuchins there are none." "Would the Capuchins not also be a blessing to the new country? Or would it be too difficult to establish the Order there?" I asked. "In Switzerland," he answered, "that Order is most popular and useful, and it would be equally so in America. It is strange that the Capuchins up to this time have not settled there. As to their reception, without doubt every Bishop would welcome them and receive them with open arms." These words seemed like an invitation from Providence, and from that time forth I had not the slightest doubt but that God wished in this manner to bring about the establishment of the Capuchin Order in the United States. Without losing a moment, I informed my friend Father Gregory Haas at Liesberg of what had occurred, and of the impression it had made upon me. I invited him to come to Thurgau to discuss the matter. After a few weeks he arrived, accompanied by a little boy, whom he was instructing in the rudiments of Latin. At Calvary this boy was later known as Father Daniel Scherer. After requesting a friend and fellow-student, the Rev. Father Zuber, pastor at Betwiesen near Wyl, to join in the consultation, we began to debate our important project.

Strange as might appear the idea of three secular priests establishing an Order in a far distant country, yet it was received with favor by all. In order to insure God's blessing upon our undertaking we bound ourselves to a daily half-hour's meditation and the recitation of the Rosary. True this was a slight step towards opening the way to a distant missionary land for three inexperienced students. An experienced and energetic leader was necessary, who would point out the road with wise suggestions and good advice. Such a person we believed to have found in the well-known Capuchin, Father Theodosius Florentini, Vicar-General of Chur. Without delay we wrote to him asking him to grant us a hearing and to give us his advice upon a very important matter.

After a few days Father Theodosius, ever ready to lend his aid, appeared in Thurgau, eager to learn what new undertaking Divine Providence would propose to him. This man, who had already founded two Religious Orders, and the large and famous hospital at Chur, and who had built a number of factories of all kinds, listened with great interest to our plans. At last he gave us his decision:

"Your plans are too ambitious, but they are pardonable in young men. You are not Capuchins, and have no connection with them or with the Roman authorities; and you have no acquaintances in America, no knowledge of the country, and are without money. To succeed, God's blessing must drop down on you from heaven. I have another idea, which I have long had in my mind, and this might perhaps be carried out on the present occasion. In our beloved Switzerland, the hatred against Catholics has diminished, the persecution of the monks has been forgotten, and the Protestants are more disposed to entertain brotherly feeling toward the Catholics than before. The large Protestant cities, Bern, Zürich, and Basel, are now open to us—we shall form a missionary band to travel throughout our country and bring back the people to the Catholic Church. You seem to be the very men for this undertaking."

This was an important suggestion, and our counselor had



MOST REV. SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER, DD.,  
Present Archbishop of Milwaukee.



almost gained the victory. "But," came the objection, "if we are so easily turned away from our first plans, which we have so earnestly considered, then we are certainly not God's instruments for those of Father Theodosius. We lack perseverance. We did not invite Father Theodosius to select a mission for us—we only requested him to aid us in carrying out our plans." This was the feeling which predominated, in spite of all the eloquent entreaties of Father Theodosius.

Some time afterwards we learned that a new bishopric had been founded in Wisconsin, and that the see was filled by a fellow-countryman of Father Theodosius, the Right Rev. Bishop Henni, born at Unternatz, in the Grisons. We thought the Bishop might need more priests in his new diocese, and therefore begged Father Theodosius to acquaint him with our plans and to procure our admittance into his diocese. When Father Theodosius was convinced that his scheme for the forming of a company of missionaries could not be carried out, he promised to open to us the way to America's missionary fields. After six months had passed and no steps had been taken, we no longer relied upon his promises, but trusting that our plans were acceptable to God, and that He would aid us, we placed our hopes in another conference, which, please God, should be the last.

A good old friend had escaped our memory, who no doubt would take a sympathetic interest in our new and difficult undertaking. His kindheartedness, his learning, and his thorough knowledge of music, would make him a most valuable addition to our trio; therefore we informed him of all that had taken place, and invited him to be present at our next conference. This was the Rev. Father Aloysius Stocker, pastor at Abtwyl, in the Canton of Aargau. With a great deal of pleasure he accepted our invitation. In order to make the trip as easy as possible for all, the city of Zurich was chosen for the conference, and so, on a beautiful autumn day in the year 1855, the four friends met in a hotel called "The Sun." Harmony and confidence were certainly not wanting to us in our holy enterprise, and it was unanimously resolved to undertake

the trip the following spring, even without invitation or welcome from Wisconsin. But the simultaneous departure of all four appeared too rash a step, and one likely to cause notice throughout the country. It was suggested that two should leave first, and the others follow as soon as the success of the undertaking was assured. Who were to be the first two? Stocker had lately been appointed to his parish, and was residing with his parents. His father was Mayor of Abtswyl, his brother the schoolmaster of the village, and he himself the much beloved pastor. Pastor Ferdinand Zuber, a poor student, had been granted a scholarship by his native canton, and was obliged by law to clear the debt he had thus incurred before emigrating. Gregory Haas and John Frey were, therefore, the only ones free to depart.

It would be tedious to recount all the obstacles that presented themselves; and the parting from their families, as well as their parishes, was very painful. Ecclesiastical authorities, also fellow laborers in the vineyard of the Lord, were not in sympathy with what they called a fantastic undertaking. "Stay at home and earn your living honestly. What schemes have these two men?" These and similar remarks both were obliged to hear, even from the lips of prominent priests. However, as these unkind criticisms on the part of the clergy could not cause them to waver in their firm resolves, all bonds were severed in a very short time, and the trifling sum of money needed for the journey was gotten together. We did not as yet know what port to sail to, nor what ship would bring us to the New World. But in order that God's blessing might be with us, we visited the Bishop of Solothurn, to whose diocese both of us were attached, and asked him to bless us and our undertaking. He gave us consolation and encouragement. We then bade farewell to an old friend and most beloved teacher, the never-to-be-forgotten Professor Alban Stolz of Freiburg, of whose sympathy and good wishes we felt assured. To him we did not look in vain for encouragement: not only did he give us great hopes, but at the same time contributed his mite to the sum we had collected for the distant mission. Then



we sailed down the beautiful Rhine, to the holy city of Cologne. In the person of a certain Mr. Maibucher, treasurer of St. Ursula's Church, we found an agent who arranged our passage from Antwerp to New York. On his recommendation we secured passage on an English brig, Robert Peel by name. Steamships were still few at the time and the price of passage on one would have been excessive for two missionaries.

The agent filled us with new courage for the voyage by informing us that as most of the passengers on the Robert Peel were Catholics, we would, as priests, be received with great joy. The day before starting we purchased, in the public market, the necessary tin utensils and two straw mattresses, such as were used by the poorest emigrants. The feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel had dawned. We both celebrated Mass in the cathedral at Antwerp, and especially recommended ourselves to her motherly protection. In the harbor lay the Robert Peel, her sails spread and ready to put to sea. About fifty emigrants of different nationalities were waiting most anxiously for the signal of departure. But the gangplank had not yet been removed, and fully a half hour elapsed before the cause of the delay became known. Suddenly we saw coming toward the ship, with slow and noiseless steps, a procession of sixty men accompanied by a detachment of police. Two and two they were handcuffed and the feet of several were fettered. They were conducted across the little bridge that led on board the Robert Peel, their chains were removed, the police withdrew, and the happy ones shouted with all their might, "Hurrah, we are American citizens!" Antwerp had emptied her jail; its inmates constituted the majority of the Robert Peel's passengers. We now had the opportunity of acquainting ourselves with our fellow travelers.

A most humiliating time was about to begin for us. The free passengers, who did not belong to the Belgian colony of convicts, excepting one family, came from the lowest classes. The promise of our ship-broker, therefore, did not come true. The Robert Peel was an English ship and its officers, with the exception of a German ship-carpenter, were also English, while

the remainder of the crew were half Dutch and half English. The entire crew, including the captain, were half men and half brutes. Our berths were located on both sides of the ship's hold; three berths, rising one above the other, filled the ship's sides. Adjoining berths were separated neither by hangings nor by boards. This was called the second cabin. In the center were placed a number of chests and other baggage, which, not being fastened, were tossed from side to side in severe weather. The kitchen could scarcely have been any plainer. There was but one regular cook, a colored man, who supplied the wants of the captain and his family. A young man, a novice in the art of cooking, served the majority of the passengers, and a large number prepared their own meals. Variety of food there was none. The three daily meals consisted of pork and beans, with a piece of unsurpassed ship biscuit. Bread, potatoes, and vegetables were not to be seen during the forty-nine days of the voyage. The unscrupulous cook had several times sold to the passengers the fresh water which it was his duty to provide, and cooked the pork and beans in sea water. The result was a general sea-sickness. The captain ordered the speculator to be tied to the mast for twenty-four hours, and the passengers were obliged to fast until he had expiated his crime. Tables were looked upon as luxuries. One or several persons sat together upon a chest when it was not being tossed about by a storm, and some stood, as the ship's motion permitted, while partaking of their frugal meals from tin pans. The only water we had to quench our thirst was half slime, and in order to drink it we found it necessary to hold our nostrils.

Driven helplessly by violent storms, we sailed twice around the Isle of Wight, near the coast of England, and the holy feast of Pentecost was near. It was only now that the ship's carpenter, who ordinarily looked after the household affairs, heard that we were Catholic priests. Whitsunday gave him the opportunity to display his hatred for religion and at the same time to furnish amusement to the people on board. On the morning of the feast, when all was still quiet, this robust



MOST REV. JOHN MARTIN HENNI, D.D.,  
First Bishop and First Archbishop of Milwaukee.



man approached our tent and in a stentorian voice yelled forth, so that the echo resounded throughout the entire ship: "Get up, you monks; to-day you must clean out the jakes!" From all sides the words were welcomed with loud hurrahs that could be heard all over the vessel. We were stunned, for every one knew that this was meant to ridicule the priesthood, and, as can well be imagined, with the sort of a crowd there was on board, the spot referred to was a shocking place. While we were calling upon God for aid, there came forward a man heretofore unknown to us. He cried in a loud voice amid the shouts of laughter: "I will not allow you to insult priests in this manner, Mr. Carpenter; I will do the dirty work myself." The respect due to the priestly state was saved, and at the same time Divine Providence, of whom it is written, "*Suaviter omnia disponens*," had in this manner taken care of our future. Our friend in need was a good Catholic Belgian who had until now been employed in a convent in his native place. After becoming of age, he thought he must try his luck in America, without having in view any special occupation or place. We invited him to join us on our journey to Wisconsin. How gladly he would have done so, but he had no money to pay his way! Our gratitude bade us share our crust of bread with him. Thus Victor Vanderstrieht (the good man's name), became our companion as far as Calvary. For four years the worthy Victor served us as but few Brothers have served us since the founding of our first convent, with a conscientiousness and joy which could not be surpassed. When the Civil war broke out, and the call for volunteers came, Victor could no longer restrain his feeling for adventure, enlisted among the defenders of the country, and we have never heard of him since. R. I. P.

It would perhaps be tiresome to recount the details of our long voyage, every day of which brought some new experience. But thank God a day was soon to come which would repay us for all the terror, humiliations, hunger, and thirst of the voyage. It was four days before our landing when the cry of Land! Land! resounded from the lookout. Those who have

never traveled under similar circumstances cannot understand the charm of this word. We could only compare it with the happiness of the moment when a soul freed from the body and from the miseries of this world, enters the state of bliss and cries out, "*Laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus.*" Our eyes were filled with tears of gratitude, and all our past sorrows were forgotten. The second of September welcomed to terra firma the half-starved emigrants. The tossing of the ship had upset our equilibrium, and so shaken were our nerves that during the following fourteen days we had to hold on to the altar while saying Mass. We found lodging in a rather uninviting house for immigrants in Greenwich Street, which could scarcely furnish sufficient cheese and bread to satisfy our first hunger. How we longed for a good night's rest, but a new foe heretofore unknown to us presented itself in a host of innumerable vermin.

Thus we found ourselves in a vast and strange world thousands of miles from our dear old home and forever separated from it, in a new country where we had neither friend nor acquaintance. The morning after our arrival we inquired for a German Catholic church. We found one on Second Street, dedicated to St. Nicholas: The pastor, as well as his assistant, was a Hungarian. Both of them, until the time of their emigration, belonged to the Austrian province of the Capuchin Order. The pastor's name was Ambos Buchmayer, that of his assistant, Felician Krebesz. With the permission of their provincial they had undertaken this mission in America, but at no time were they connected with the Father General or with his Curia.

Sunday being near, and a holiday following in the same week, we were welcomed at St. Nicholas', where we were asked to preach and say Mass on the days mentioned. Our modest request for a small donation to fill our empty treasury found no response. Besides St. Nicholas' there were four other German Catholic churches in the city of New York. The Redemptorist Father Gabriel Rimpler had built the church of the Most Holy Redeemer in Third Street. In 1844, the



THE OLD CONVENT AT CALVARY.  
Destroyed by Fire December 26, 1868.

porary home, Fr. Gregory Haas to his now endeared Kenosha and I to St. Mary's Church in Milwaukee. In February, 1857, my faithful companion, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Bishop and his congregation, packed up his trifling belongings, determined not to allow our zeal to grow cold, and started off to take the first steps in Europe to carry out our plans. In undertaking this dangerous journey he had three objects in view: To collect money, to gather novices—that is, such men who would show interest and liking for our work—but above all to gain the permission of His Holiness Pius IX. and through him the approbation of the Capuchin Order. Our meager savings were put together. They were just enough to make the ocean voyage possible. With sad hearts we parted, looking hopefully though somewhat apprehensively to the future. The noble Columbus as he started out in his fragile vessel to discover the new world, full of courage, with good intentions, accompanied by the best wishes of his friends and patrons, surely had not the slightest idea how nearly his project would fail. When all conspired against him, the ocean, famine, and even his own crew, the heavenly pilot took charge of the ship and showed the disheartened sailors the long wished for land. God's wise guidance is not always understood by His creatures. It is difficult for man to comprehend, that it is not man who guides the stars, and causes the world to revolve, but an infinitely wiser hand, without which all human plans would come to naught. So too Gregory Haas and his companions were to learn that it was not given to them to found the Capuchin Order in their new home; they were destined to learn by experience the prayer: "*Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam.*"

On March 21, 1857, he embarked on a ship for Antwerp, where he arrived safely on April 5th. Here he wanted to try his fortune and take up a collection. Let us follow the footsteps of this humble beggar wending his way through this seaport city, undiscouraged at his failure, through Cologne, through Malines, to Louvain, the home of a Catholic University, and to his dear old Mannheim. After this humiliating journey



church of St. John the Baptist had been erected in Thirtieth Street, and two years later the Hungarian Franciscan Fathers had built a church in Thirty-first Street. A fifth church, poor and unpretentious, was situated in Thompson Street, and served by a Redemptorist Father. Under the supervision of the Rev. Father Raffeiner, Vicar-General of New York, the first German church in Brooklyn had just been built. A large number of the tailors from New York had moved to this city, where comfortable houses could be obtained for moderate prices. Before our departure we visited the Reverend pastor, who used all his eloquence to persuade us to remain as his assistants.

A journey from New York to Wisconsin in 1856 was no small undertaking; it was not only long, but also very uncomfortable. For immigrants the journey lasted eight days. The train in which we were placed was called an immigrant train. In reality it was only an ordinary freight train, to which were attached two cars destined for immigrants. They were of the plainest kind and consisted of four sides, with neither chairs nor benches. Those who wished to sleep lay on the floor or on their baggage. After purchasing three tickets to Milwaukee, for we had to provide for our good Victor also, there remained in our purse the sum of two dollars and a half, and even this pittance was lessened before our departure. On the street in front of the railway station an old woman kept a sausage stand. We were again starving, a fact still regarded as one of the consequences of our voyage. Although the sausages did not look very tempting, our appetites forced us to reduce our possessions by a dollar. I was chosen treasurer and as such it was my duty to deal out a slice of the sausage three times a day until the supply—alas, too small!—was exhausted. Worn out and hungry we landed on the fourth day at Dunkirk. The instructions of the conductor were: "To-morrow at four o'clock the train will start again; then you must be here." It was eleven o'clock in the morning, and as we were still fasting we looked for a Catholic church, where we wished to say Mass, if this were possible. After seeing our papers, the Irish pastor,

without budging an inch, showed us the church with the injunction, "There; help yourselves." We served each other's Masses. It was now one o'clock. Upon our return to the rectory the reverend gentleman gave us the choice of taking a cup of coffee immediately, or else of returning at three o'clock and dining with him. Taking into consideration our rebellious appetites, we chose the latter, and so we sat down in a log cabin near which a newly immigrated family from Alsace were just taking some freshly-baked bread out of the oven. In a ravenous manner the six children devoured the hot bread, and only great human respect kept us from saying: "Let us have some."

At last three o'clock arrived, and we sat down at the priest's table. He served each one of us with a small piece of meat and two spoonfuls of rice. We were forced to be satisfied, and then the waning sun and our poverty compelled us to look for free lodging for the coming night. A charitable Irishman, owner of a small restaurant, cared for us, after our explaining to him that we were priests and that our money had given out. I trust God has rewarded his hospitality many times. While we were peacefully resting in our unpretentious hotel, good Victor was sleeping in the immigrant car, without pillow or covering and supperless.

Two days later, early in the morning, we reached Cleveland. We were shown a poor church situated on a hill and cared for by a German priest, the Vicar-General of the diocese. As we approached this new settlement we met the reverend gentleman, who was just going to the village. As he eyed our long cassocks he called to us in astonishment: "What! Two young priests? What are you looking for on this forsaken hill?" We answered him, "We would like to say Mass here." "It seems to me as though you needed breakfast first of all. Heavens, how hungry you look," said the gentleman. "Well," said we to one another, "he is the first man of sense we have met since our arrival in this country." "Now come," he said; "you may first say Mass and then my sister will prepare a breakfast which will help to fill out your hollow cheeks."



THE NEW CONVENT OF MOUNT CALVARY AND COLLEGE OF ST. LAWRENCE.  
MT. CALVARY, WIS.



Having partaken of the food with grateful hearts, we could truthfully say that here we had our first full meal since setting foot on American soil. The Vicar-General then, upon our request, gave us four dollars as offerings for Masses.

With this material aid we reached the second last important station, Chicago. It was eight o'clock of a glorious Sunday morning when we arrived at the depot of this city, now the largest city of the West. The comparatively new settlement numbered about 50,000 inhabitants. The streets were still in a primitive condition, boards being used for sidewalks. Aimlessly we walked through the city of framehouses, in the hopes of discovering a Catholic church. At last we met a young Irish priest, who was hurrying toward the cathedral, carrying an uncovered chalice. We inquired of him where we would be able to say Mass. He showed us a little church whither we now wended our way. It was St. Peter's Church, situated at Clark and Polk Streets. How poor and unattractive was St. Peter's! Until now we had hardly seen a church more unattractive-looking. It was an inclosure made of boards, and placed on six sawed-off stumps of trees, the entire structure shaking as we walked through it with our heavy satchels. A priest who was hearing confessions welcomed us most heartily. Upon making the happy discovery that we were still fasting, he exclaimed: "You come here like two angels sent from heaven. My head aches as if it would burst, and I am not able to work. One of you must sing High Mass, and the other must preach." Notwithstanding that we had not rested for the past two nights we undertook the arduous task. In the course of the day which we spent at St. Peter's, this noble Vicar-General, Father Ostlangenberg exerted all his powers of eloquence to persuade us to remain in Chicago. He offered us two churches, one being his own and the other that of St. Francis. Both of them gave promise of a brilliant future, but not even a cathedral could have detained us. We had but one aim, convinced that it was God's undoubted will—namely to arrive at Milwaukee. And after a pleasant ride of six hours, we reached the place of our desire, to which we had so long

looked forward, for which we had undergone so many hardships, suffered hunger, and made innumerable sacrifices. With tears in our eyes and thanking God with all our hearts, we perceived Milwaukee in the distance on the evening of the following day. But whither were we to go now? As we stood near our baggage, considering this problem, a German greeted us pleasantly, and invited us to follow him to the residence of his pastor. He was a trustee of the neighboring German church and, with our baggage, we got into his vehicle. Upon our arrival at the pastoral residence, he rang the door-bell; the housekeeper appeared and opened the door several inches.

"Here are two new priests," said the trustee. "Will you please receive them hospitably and give them shelter for the night?"

"The reverend pastor is not at home and I will receive no strangers; besides the kitchen fire is already out." With this she slammed the door.

"Come, Fathers," said the kind gentleman, "I will find lodgings for you." So saying he brought us to a hotel kept by a Catholic, telling the proprietor that he would pay the expenses. On the following morning we said Mass in the German church. While at breakfast we were surprised by the reverend pastor, who had just returned from a mission and greeted us thus:

"How can you take it upon yourselves to say Mass before having your papers examined?"

"Our papers are in readiness," we replied, "but your gracious housekeeper did not care to examine them."

The next trip was to the episcopal residence. Bishop Henni received us most cordially. "I have abundant work," he said, "and fellow countrymen with such good recommendations are thrice welcome." We were now guests of the Reverend Bishop, the one of us remaining for eight, the other for fourteen days. It was proper that we should give him our reasons for coming to America and tell him that we had planned to establish the Capuchin Order here. A smile played about his lips as he answered: "But not quite so hurriedly—we shall see. First of all you must become acquainted with the country and its



FATHER BERNARD CHRISTEN.  
General of the Capuchin Order since May 1884.  
Born at Andermatt, Switzerland, 1841.  
(Photograph taken during his visit to Yonkers, N. Y.)

I must relate an important incident which happened at this time. On the feast of Epiphany, 1856, while I was conducting services in the church, a thief named Lepage, who was a runaway theologian from the seminary in Canada, entered the rectory and stole the collection which had been taken up for the orphans, all the money which belonged to the societies, as well as my own trifling savings. The thief was soon captured, and the money, which had already been expressed to Chicago, was recovered. In the courts, this son of the Muses was sentenced for burglary to three years' imprisonment at Waupun. The money the judges divided among themselves, and the lawyers. The societies and myself had the pleasure of being spectators. And so were lost the first savings with which the first Capuchin monastery was to have been erected.

Upon our request, the Right Rev. Bishop Henni had recommended two places to us which, according to his ideas, might serve for a future Capuchin settlement, St. Nicholas', later called Calvaria, near Fond du Lac, and St. Lawrence, near Schlesingerville.

On October 15th we left Milwaukee to find the first home for the Order. Two old grays carried the two enthusiastic explorers by way of Taycheedah through the unknown woods near the shores of Lake Winnebago. No one knew of the existence of a church of St. Nicholas, and so we roamed about until all signs of civilization had disappeared. At last we decided to turn back and after a tiresome ride of six hours we came to the church of St. Mary in Marytown. Rev. Max de Becke, formerly a follower of Kossuth, although a noble and unselfish priest and now canon in Raab in Hungary, was pastor of the congregation in the wilds of the forest. He sympathized with the horsemen and would willingly have shown them hospitality, but the extent of his provisions consisted of a small crust of bread. All he could do for us was to show us in the distance St. Nicholas' hill and instruct us how to reach the place. After a ride of an hour we arrived there. The impression made upon us by St. Nicholas', the future Calvaria was overwhelming; it represented a miniature Switzerland to us. We



language." On the following morning the Bishop met a priest to whom he told the following story: "Listen to an amusing occurrence that happened to me yesterday. Entirely unexpected, two German priests arrived from Switzerland, young, strong, fine men, who said they wished to establish the Capuchin Order here; they are secular priests and have even less money than I have. But I thought to myself they would soon give up this idea." There were in Milwaukee, besides the cathedral, four other churches. St. Mary's and Holy Trinity for the Germans, and St. Gall's for the Irish people. At this time the church of St. Joseph, situated on the top of a hill, had just been finished and a newly ordained priest, Father Holzhauer, had been named pastor. Five miles from the city limits, at a place called Nojoshing, Dr. Salzman and Rev. Mr. Heiss had begun to build a seminary. In the northern part of Milwaukee, at the end of Knapp Street, the Sisters of Notre Dame, from Bavaria, had established themselves and had erected a part of the building which was subsequently to be their convent. Mother Caroline was the Superioress and Rev. Father Urbanek the spiritual director. This in brief, constituted the church property in the new episcopal city in the year 1856.

After having tried his guests for eight days, the Right Rev. Bishop appeared in our room one morning and addressed the Rev. Gregory Haas in the following words: "I have found a place for you now. This afternoon you will go to Kenosha, a pretty town. The other gentleman will remain with me for the present." But immediately the first difficulty arose. The new missionary had no money. With throbbing hearts we told our troubles to the Bishop and asked him to lend us two dollars. "It will be all right; have confidence," he said. "But I cannot give you any money." After two hours we again summoned up our courage, and told him that we were not acquainted with a single person in Milwaukee and must therefore depend on his charity. We received the two dollars and so the good Father reached Kenosha in safety. One week later I was entrusted with the spiritual care of the church of St. Mary, where I remained until the beginning of May, 1857.

porary home, Fr. Gregory Haas to his now endeared Kenosha and I to St. Mary's Church in Milwaukee. In February, 1857, my faithful companion, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Bishop and his congregation, packed up his trifling belongings, determined not to allow our zeal to grow cold, and started off to take the first steps in Europe to carry out our plans. In undertaking this dangerous journey he had three objects in view: To collect money, to gather novices—that is, such men who would show interest and liking for our work—but above all to gain the permission of His Holiness Pius IX. and through him the approbation of the Capuchin Order. Our meager savings were put together. They were just enough to make the ocean voyage possible. With sad hearts we parted, looking hopefully though somewhat apprehensively to the future. The noble Columbus as he started out in his fragile vessel to discover the new world, full of courage, with good intentions, accompanied by the best wishes of his friends and patrons, surely had not the slightest idea how nearly his project would fail. When all conspired against him, the ocean, famine, and even his own crew, the heavenly pilot took charge of the ship and showed the disheartened sailors the long wished for land. God's wise guidance is not always understood by His creatures. It is difficult for man to comprehend, that it is not man who guides the stars, and causes the world to revolve, but an infinitely wiser hand, without which all human plans would come to naught. So too Gregory Haas and his companions were to learn that it was not given to them to found the Capuchin Order in their new home; they were destined to learn by experience the prayer: "*Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam.*"

On March 21, 1857, he embarked on a ship for Antwerp, where he arrived safely on April 5th. Here he wanted to try his fortune and take up a collection. Let us follow the footsteps of this humble beggar wending his way through this seaport city, undiscouraged at his failure, through Cologne, through Malines, to Louvain, the home of a Catholic University, and to his dear old Mannheim. After this humiliating journey





we find him crying with St. Peter: "Master, I have laboured all the night and have taken nothing."

The experience of his journey from Antwerp to Rome, during which time he suffered much mental anguish and bodily privations, the Rev. Gregory Haas has given us in a diary which he begins on April 5th in Antwerp, and ends in Rome on May 20th. We will give our readers an exact transcription. To understand it, an explanation is necessary.

The year before our departure, we had made an agreement with one of the most influential Fathers of the Swiss Provinces, Rev. Father Maximus, a distinguished lecturer on theology, that, should God bless our undertaking in America, he would in every way endeavor to aid us. His sympathy for this noble work was so thoroughly aroused, that at length he decided to join us as our leader, that is, if he could obtain permission from his provincial. He had no doubt of obtaining this consent, in consideration of the good work which he had done in the province and because he had so often expressed a wish to lead a missionary life. But his success did not equal his expectations. A man like Father Maximus was too valuable for the province; in order to retain him and to keep all temptations away from him he was elected provincial at the next chapter.

#### FIRST LETTER OF REV. GREGORY HAAS TO REV. JOHN FREY:

DEAR FRIEND:

God, our Guide and our Protector, in whom from all beginning we have confided, be praised, for all we have done since our departure for the glory of His holy name! A few more hours of anxiety, and I expect to be able to say in peace and confidence: "It is accomplished." Meanwhile let me tell you what has happened since my departure from New York on March 21st. On board of ship, the service and order was all one could desire, and aside from the distaste resulting from invariably partaking of the same dishes, we had no cause to complain. As the wind was generally favorable and never violent, we arrived at Antwerp on April 5th, our journey having lasted just fifteen days. I immediately went to the Capuchin convent, which was new, having been established only a half year.

I almost frightened the poor Fathers when I informed them that it was my intention to take up a collection in the city. They said it would be unwise, as they were always in want and continually begging for money, and that by making the attempt I would do them harm. A Jesuit Father confirmed this view for Belgium, in support of which he cited the case of Father de Smet, whose collections had resulted in utter failure. I still had a lingering hope that the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines would give me permission to collect money, but without even being allowed an interview, I received nothing but permission to say Mass in Belgium for a month. In Louvain I met with no better luck, but the promise to send me money thereafter. At the suggestion of my companion I tried my fortune at Cologne, with the Count of Beisel, from whom I received twenty francs. After attempting another collection at Mannheim, where I met with even less success, I hurried to Liesberg to celebrate Easter, and arrived there Holy Saturday, precisely at midnight. The following Easter morning I greeted my old congregation. I left Liesberg on the following Friday and went to Herbetswil to our friend Fiala,\* who, as you know, is to take part in our undertaking. Here I stayed over night and the good-hearted man told me of all his plans. Yet his position as leader of the young conservatives in the Canton of Solothurn would make his withdrawal in the face of the furious radicals an irreparable loss.

On Monday, accompanied by my reverend brother, I went to the city of Solothurn to have the question which so deeply interested me settled by the Capuchin Fathers. But matters were destined to become still more critical. Father Aemilian, formerly guardian of Rapperswyl, expressed himself very dubiously, and Father Schmid, whose influence is well-known to you, stated directly: "So far as it depends upon me I will not give a single Father." My shattered hopes were somewhat revived on Tuesday at Olten by the Rev. Father Edmund, who also advised me not to see the Provincial until I had conferred with Father Damascene and received the clear promise of Father Maximus himself.

But at this time, the Reverend Provincial happened to be at Lucerne, and as I was obliged to pass through this city, to avoid him would have seemed rather lacking in courage. Wednesday morning, April 22d, led me to the most exciting conference in which I have ever taken part, and I hope never to

\* Afterwards Bishop of Basle.



(After a photograph made in the Sixties.)

FATHER BONAVENTURE FREY.



FATHER ANTONIUS. FATHER FRANCIS. FATHER BONAVENTURE.  
(After a tintype made in 1875.)





take part in a similar scene. He read his own and my commendatory letter, after which he said: "It is all very well and good, but it is impossible." "You surely do not intend to fulfil your promise in this way?" I asked. "I made no promise," he replied. "But why then did you give us the letter? You certainly extended some hope." "It is not possible; it cannot be done." I think that I exhausted every argument in opposition, and called his action a wrong done by the Order. In vain. The same words were constantly repeated: "It is impossible." So I informed him of my determination to go first to Altdorf and in case of my failing there, to Rome. When parting, I said to him that his answer was not final, to which he made no objection. On the evening of that day I went to Altdorf and found the two priests full of determination. Father Damascene especially spoke in a manner which made me feel happy. The following day, on which Father Maximus was to give me his written answer, we both said Mass for this intention and gradually the good Father who was destined by God to be our guide and leader came to a resolve. The next morning his letter was ready, a letter as positive as a pious member of an Order could possibly write. But Father Damascene had not the patience to wait for my departure. He sent a decisive telegram to the Father Provincial at Lucerne and while on Saturday, the 24th, owing to circumstances, nothing could be done, on the 25th my position was comparatively easy. His consent was clearly in sight, but before giving his decisive answer, he wished to hear the opinion of Father Aemilian in Solothurn and Father Anicetus in Zug. I returned to Altdorf on Saturday to await the written decision. My heart is relieved as if I held the written approval already in my hands. The most trying days of my mission would then be past. Full of joy and possessing the written assurances I would begin my begging tour.

But my days of trial, it seems, are not yet over. Patience, old fellow, we are in Rome. To-day is the eve of the Ascension. In Altdorf, I waited full of hope. Just then Father Aemilian arrived from Zug. "Solothurn refuses its consent," he reports. Hence his advice to go to Rome.

On the same day, I started out on the journey for Zug; passing through Schwyz I received some encouragement from the Guardian Father Ivo. So I arrived at Zug, found a hearty supporter in Father Anicetus, who succeeded in persuading Father Lucius to despatch to Rome, with his recommendation, our request to send a Father to the United States. But in

order not to wait indefinitely and perhaps waste two months, for without a written decision I could collect no money—I decided to use Father Rehrl's fifty dollars, knowing that he would not object, and then to start for Rome. I went from Zug to Betwiesen and found our colleague Zuber in such patriarchal poverty that—to mention but one detail—he used a wooden spoon at meals. He had not for a moment been shaken in his resolution, and he did not refer to my offensive letter with a single word of complaint. In his entire conduct I could trace the will of Providence to call him to a religious life. Traveling through Frauenfeld I saw your sister, who was quite moved and declared that since your departure she had had but little joy. She has not, however, made up her mind to go to America, and I recommended her to pray that she might know God's will. With the other gentlemen in Thurgau who mean to join us I did not communicate. In fact I did not care to do so until I was sure of success. Therefore I hastened to Rome, starting on Sunday, May 10th. I could not start earlier because I had to tarry about eight days at Lucerne, awaiting the endorsement of my passport by the Sardinian consul. I arrived on Wednesday evening.

Thursday I visited the Capuchins. Here I was told that the General was away traveling and that the procurator and his secretary were also absent. The latter might possibly return by seven o'clock at night. As I could not procure an interview with the procurator that night, the matter could not be submitted at the regular meeting on Friday. My paper, however, was received with favor by the procurator. I had a number of conversations with Bishop Hartmann of Bombay, a pupil of Father Maximus. Our proposition seemed to meet with no objection. Every consultor was in its favor. The final decision was adjourned until Monday the 18th. The decision I received was strange and contrary to all my expectations, nevertheless I accepted it resolutely, without a word of opposition. In order to make the novitiate as strict as possible the two candidates in Europe, Zuber and I, were to make it in Lucerne. In the meantime, you are to get the house in readiness. I was told, moreover, that they would give me such papers as would enable me to make collections before beginning my novitiate. Bishop Hartmann at first felt the same way about the matter as I; he was puzzled, and did not know whether to approve or disapprove of these terms. We discussed the question and found many reasons for the immediate departure of the gentlemen who were to start. The procurator



CHURCH AND SCHOOL OF OUR LADY OF SORROWS, PITT ST., NEW YORK.



would not change his terms and so there remains but one hope, namely, that Bishop Hartmann's letter to the General will bear some fruit. If possible, I shall also go to see the General, at Bologna, where I hope to be presented to the Holy Father likewise. In any case, Father Maximus is to accompany me to America in order to receive your vows. To-morrow, Tuesday, I shall visit the procurator to receive the papers. Collections in Rome are out of the question. On Wednesday, May 20th, after receiving the papers I shall either go to Naples or immediately to Vienna by way of Milan.

Even trifling matters are not to come to pass as we anticipate, and so I had to wait until yesterday, Saturday, for the provisional document. The final document I am to receive from the General himself at Bologna. I have had a translation of the provisional document, which is in Italian, made by a priest, and will append it. After sending these letters to America and Switzerland I shall immediately proceed to Naples to see what Divine Providence shall do for us in the matter of collections. Do not worry. By overcoming these difficulties we shall see how God's help is with us.

Your friend,

GREGORY HAAS.

The seed had been sown and was beginning to sprout. It was ready for further growth and development. But days of drought and heat came, which threatened to destroy the tender plant. Unforeseen difficulties of all kinds arose to endanger the realization of the long cherished plan to found a Capuchin community at Mount Calvary. Before all, it was necessary to be united to some European province of the Order, or at least to receive canonical recognition from the heads of the Order at Rome.

\* \* \* \* \*

The two future sons of St. Francis, who were still secular priests, must prepare themselves for admission into the Order under the guidance of an authorized Capuchin Father—in other words must make their novitiate and take their vows. The European Capuchins must be induced to co-operate with the two candidates in order to bring about these preliminaries. This was the principal end of Father Gregory Haas' journey

to Europe. Let us return to Father John Frey's recollections in order to learn what he was meanwhile doing in the United States.\*

In the autumn of 1856, the two priests purchased, for \$5,000 each, two farms at the foot of Mount Calvary, one from Mathias Bourgeois, the other from a family named Spieles. They had not the least fear that their bold plans might fail, either through financial entanglements or by reason of a refusal from Rome or from the provinces of the Order; or rather, they did not allow such thoughts to enter their minds. The church property was twofold; that on which the church stood belonged to the Right Rev. Bishop; the other the congregation reserved for itself to use according to its desires. The episcopal property was generously turned over to us. The Bishop allowed us to secure as we might the part of the property belonging to the congregation. Thus we had land in plenty; it remained to be seen whether it would remain in our hands or not.

While Father Gregory Haas was traveling in Europe to bring about our entrance into the Order, to gather recruits and money, Father John Frey, against the Bishop's wishes, left his congregation of St. Mary's in Milwaukee, and betook himself to Mount Calvary. From Milwaukee he brought a carpenter and builder named J. Flatz to take in hand the woodwork of the new buildings. A puny horse and a rickety wagon also accompanied him to the Holy Hill, as it was even then called. The horse and wagon were purchased for \$100 and after settling down there remained the large sum of \$30 to build the monastery. After a few days financial difficulties forced Father Frey to look about for a loan. Milwaukee was the only place where he might hope for any assistance. But the Right Rev. Bishop of whom he asked advice and help answered: "Tell me where there is money to be found and I will raise it, for I myself am in the greatest need." Every old friend and business man in the city was applied to, but all in

\* From this point the narrative is apparently based upon recollections orally given by Father Frey to the continuator.



ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH, APPLETON, WIS.



CHURCH OF MARY, QUEEN OF ANGELS,  
East 113th St., New York.





vain. The last ray of hope came from an old Jew, of the name of Simon Levi, who after a few days consented to advance several thousand dollars at the rate of 24 per cent., on condition that the Bishop signed the bond. He insisted upon immediately deducting the 24 per cent. from the sum loaned. The conditions were hard, but for the moment we were relieved.

In the spring of 1857, through the efforts of Father John Frey, the foundation was dug and the building begun, and in July, Archbishop Heiss, then still rector of the Salesian Seminary, laid the corner-stone of the first Capuchin convent in the United States. After many difficulties, the Rev. Gregory Haas had obtained permission from the head of the Capuchin Order in Rome to establish the religious community in America.

The Rev. Anthony Maria Gaschet, of Freiburg in the Swiss province, was sent over to be Superior of the Order and master of novices. In a rather primitive mission chapel of Our Lady of Mount Carmel on December 2, 1857, two of our priests and a lay brother received from Father Gaschet's hands the robe of St. Francis, and the Rev. Father Haas was henceforth known in religion by the name of Father Francis, and Father Frey by that of Father Bonaventure. In the spring of 1858, the members of this small community moved into the now completed wing of the future convent of Mount Calvary. The canonical constitution of the community took place on July 9, 1858, and the Rev. Anthony Maria was appointed guardian. During his guardianship, on February 16th of the following year, the novices made their first vows. Though the Capuchin rules and their ritual were scrupulously observed, the poor monks had many difficulties to contend with. A heavy blow was dealt the young community, when Father Anthony Maria, until now its guardian, left the convent with his Socius, on May 19, 1859, to devote themselves to missionary work among the Menominee Indians. in Keshene, Wisconsin. Before his departure he appointed the Rev. Gregory Haas as the head of the convent. The latter says on the subject: "The hopes which we based on the habit of our Order faded away after the departure of Father Anthony Maria. At the end of April

there followed two years during which we were completely dropped and ignored on all sides, helpless, without advice and means; we were supported only by our loyalty to our cause."

Though some new members had joined the community, the income was very small. The building of the monastery had led us to contract various debts and nowhere was there any money to be obtained. At Rome no one seemed to trouble himself about the fate of the new mission. The small community suffered many trials during this period of poverty.

At last a ray of hope appeared to encourage the much tried monks. The newly appointed minister general lovingly gave his assistance to the newly founded convent, and on January 2, 1861, he appointed Father Francis as Superior and Guardian of the Order in America, and Father Bonaventure as vicar. Thus a regular government was established for the convent and its future secured. But the sun of peace was not long to shine in our monastery. Soon new troubles and worries arose through the fault of those members who apparently had come to help the others, but in reality strove to undermine them. Worn out by the responsibility and worry, Father Bonaventure, then vicar, was taken seriously ill and made his will on August 23, 1861; but, thank God, his hour had not yet come. In spite of all these trials, preparations were made to build the church, to add a choir, and to erect a modest college. Soon foundations were laid. As a compensation for the hardships undergone, the community was increased by a number of new members. In July, 1863, both the new church and choir had been completed and were solemnly blessed by the late Bishop Henni. In this as in most building operations subsequently undertaken in the province, Father Bonaventure was supervising architect and carried out his well-known and correct ideas on Christian art.

While Father Francis turned his attention chiefly to the development of the society so as to strengthen its inner foundation, Father Bonaventure's aim was to give a comfortable home to his brethren in religion, to erect churches and schools and secure for the Order a field of useful activity. In order that



FATHER BONAVENTURE FREY, O.M. CAP.  
(After a photograph taken in the Seventies.)



FATHER FRANCIS HAAS, O.M. CAP.  
Born at Metzerlen, Switzerland, Nov. 25, 1826,  
died June 21, 1895.



the community might thrive it was necessary to open a seminary. For this purpose the south wing of the convent, begun in 1862, was completed and fitted up as a college (1864); it was attended by twenty students. Thus was called to life the high school of St. Laurentius of Brundisium, and the foundation laid of the college of Calvary, which to-day ranks among the prominent educational institutions in Wisconsin. After the terrible fire, which occurred Christmas, 1868, and destroyed the entire convent and a part of the church, Father Bonaventure, (at that time Custodian of the Province), built in 1880 the present college at some distance from the monastery.

Despite all storms, the seed that had been planted had slowly begun to spring up on Mount Calvary. But to become a hardy tree it must grow and ramify in other directions. Francis and Bonaventure turned their eyes toward Milwaukee, at that time the only episcopal see in Wisconsin. On April 22, 1865, Schunck's dilapidated brewery was bought for the sum of \$5,000. Two thousand were paid in cash. Father Bonaventure, architect and builder of the Order, was commissioned to fit up the old place, until now dedicated to the service of Bacchus, to higher and worthier purposes and make of it a building suitable for a convent. Joyfully he went to the chaplain of the Sisters of Notre Dame, Rev. F. X. Krautbauer, afterwards Bishop of Green Bay, who was very friendly, and assisted Father Bonaventure with word and deed.

Much encouraged, Father Bonaventure hired some workmen and began the alterations in the brewery. But now a new storm was gathering, followed by days of much trouble and sorrow. At that time the Know-Nothing movement was at its height in Milwaukee, and bands of rowdies made the city rather unsafe. Scarcely had it become known that the much dreaded monks were to settle in the city, when there was a general uprising. A lawsuit was brought against Father Bonaventure, disputing his right to the ownership of the property in behalf of the heirs of a former owner. However, Father Bonaventure would not allow himself to be frightened; he placed the matter in the hands of a competent lawyer, Judge

Jenkins. With his handful of laborers he set to work to add another story to the building, when one day a band of bigots appeared, fully armed and led by a woman carrying a gun. They drove all the laborers from the spot where they had begun to work. Lawyer Jenkins proposed to repel force by force, but Father Bonaventure prevented him from so doing, saying: "This is not the way for priests to enter a city and to found religious houses." He tried to settle the matter peaceably but the court decided against him. Thus the first attempt failed and the \$2,000 that had been paid were lost. "These priests are serpents," said the Judge, "who are trying to steal into the city and must be crushed." In spite of this failure the head of the Order allowed Father Bonaventure to make a second attempt. Father Krautbauer drew Father Bonaventure's attention to the block upon which now stands the church of St. Francis, the large though plain house of the Capuchins. A Mr. J. M. Silkman, the owner of the place, sold it to Father Bonaventure for the sum of \$5,300. The deed of sale was signed on August 24, 1865. Though the plans for building were ready, it was impossible to begin the work because the means were wanting. How were these to be found? Father Bonaventure went to Iowa, where he gave missions in the parishes of Father J. M. Flammang and in the neighboring parishes, at the same time collecting what he could for his foundation. Father Bonaventure, at that time at the height of his youthful strength and enthusiasm, knew how to win the hearts of his listeners by his eloquent words, so full of feeling, and in a very short time he was able to bring back \$1,600 to Milwaukee and make first payment on the property purchased. For the rest he gave a mortgage bearing 7 per cent. interest, to Mr. Silkman. Shortly after his return, Father Bonaventure conducted the yearly spiritual exercises at the convent of Notre Dame and received a considerable alms from the Mother Superior for his services. With this he was able to purchase brick for the new building. It is to be mentioned that the Mother Superior proved herself a great benefactress of the Capuchin Fathers during her entire life.



CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST,  
West 30th St., New York,  
AND SCHOOL AND CONVENT OF ST. FIDELIS.





As a true mother she watched over their welfare, and was ever ready to lend assistance in time of trouble and trials. Her memory is cherished by the bearded monks.

In the fall of the year 1866, Fathers Francis Haas and Cajetan Krauthahn gave two missions in New York. This led Father Augustine Dantner to request Father Francis to send him an assistant to aid him in his large parish in Thirtieth Street. The congregation had for years past rebelled against the control of the church property by the pastor and the Archbishop. No one seemed better suited for the place than Father Bonaventure; at the command of his Superior, he bade farewell, with great regret, to Milwaukee, which offered so large a mission field, to begin his more difficult and seemingly thankless task in New York. Let us follow him to watch how here also, violent passions and wicked discord threatened to choke the seed of the Gospel.

Father Bonaventure is again in New York, where he had landed for the first time just ten years before. At that time when he and his companions passed hurriedly through the vast metropolis, to found the Capuchin Order in the West, he had little thought of the splendid churches and convents of his Order that were one day to be raised by his hand in this wilderness. We may truly say "that man proposes and God disposes." As assistant to Father Augustine, a Capuchin missionary of the Austrian province, Father Bonaventure did his utmost to reconcile the parishioners with their priest and the Archbishop. In vain; in less than half a year he saw the hopelessness of all his efforts. All his endeavors and all his eloquence were thrown away. The congregation was placed under an interdict a second time, and at the request of the Most Rev. Archbishop, afterwards Cardinal McCloskey, Father Bonaventure looked about for a more fruitful field to exercise his priestly labors. This he found in the neighborhood of Pitt and Stanton Streets, where the Bishop allowed him to build a church for German Catholics. The consent of the Superiors having been obtained, a place 75 x 100 feet was bought, and on March 10, 1867, the Archbishop sent the Superiors the

papers assigning the future church and parish to the Order. Thus was the first Capuchin settlement on the Atlantic seaboard begun. In spite of all distress and storm of evil days, the seed planted at Calvary has already put forth three vigorous shoots, from which will spring in the future no doubt new and fruit-bearing plants. The fourth germ is budding slowly on the banks of the Detroit river, from which new life will be imparted to its older sisters. The time is now at hand when the seed that was sown in fear and trembling, that grew up amid storm and adversity, is to ripen and bear fruit. Everywhere we find Father Bonaventure the principal sower in the Capuchin Order.

#### MATURITY AND HARVEST.

It was therefore resolved to build a church and convent in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows in Pitt Street, New York. With the true American spirit which he had acquired by this time, and which makes the most of even adverse circumstances, our good Father Bonaventure began his work in a saloon situated near his future church, and fitted it up as a temporary church and school. The first services were held on the first Sunday of Lent, and on the following day the school was opened with an attendance of fifteen children, a number which by the end of the year increased to forty. The next task was to gather the hitherto shepherdless sheep into this uninviting fold. Many obeyed his voice and Father Bonaventure, much encouraged, laid the corner-stone of the new church, August 15, 1867. By the end of October the structure was under roof and prepared to receive the congregation. "Many wept," says Father Francis, "when amidst the solemn strains of music the Blessed Sacrament, borne in the remonstrance under a canopy, was brought from its temporary home, as from the stable of Bethlehem, to the new building, escorted by an honorary guard of policemen, which the city had sent, and accompanied by the new congregation." The congregation had good reason to shed tears of joy. All, from the few men of means down to the poorest servant girls, had generously contributed to bring about



CHURCH AND CONVENT OF THE HOLY CROSS, MILWAUKEE, WIS.



this triumphant result. Many had even better reason to rejoice: they had found again their long lost faith. On September 6, 1868, the church was dedicated by the Archbishop, and the children, led by the Sisters of St. Dominic, marched in procession into the edifice. A fine building with a large cupola rose up amid the little houses, and large numbers of the faithful assembled there for divine service. Here until the fall of 1870 to the delight of the most Reverend Archbishop, and with the visible blessing of Heaven, Father Bonaventure worked for the good of the German congregation.

The congregation continued to flourish under his zealous successor, Father Laurentius Vorwerk. In 1874 a large school-house was erected on the corner of Pitt and Stanton Streets, and in 1881 a fine new convent was added to the school and church.

In the meantime affairs in Thirtieth Street had become so desperate that the church was about to be sold to a Protestant congregation. The Archbishop, who had just returned from the Vatican Council, summoned Father Bonaventure, and after describing the hopeless condition of the congregation said to him: "If you will accept this parish as it is, and try to build it up again, I will give it to you with all my heart." Father Bonaventure answered: "As long as I am able I will do all I can to prevent a German congregation from going to ruin. As it is, there are but few. I ask to postpone my decision for fourteen days, so as to put the matter before my Superior." The permission of the latter was soon given and Father Bonaventure began the difficult undertaking of building up the parish of St. John the Baptist and erecting, if possible, a new dwelling-place for our dear Lord. It was a difficult task, which cost many a sleepless night, many hours of ceaseless activity, which compelled him sometimes to warn and to threaten, and which required all his eloquence and all his patience. It was only when after a month of fruitless effort, he appeared ready to depart and leave the church to its destiny, that the well-meaning elements of the congregation obliged the trustees to deliver the title of the church property to the Archbishop.

Peace was thus established, and the school, numbering fifty children, with one teacher, which had been closed since the proclamation of the interdict, was reopened in a hotel on Sixth Avenue. This took place in the winter of 1870-71.

It was only then, Father Francis tells us, that it was felt that this church was too small, and Father Bonaventure, in spite of the debt upon it, was obliged to plan a new one. The parish, consisting mostly of well-to-do families, chose the plans for a Gothic structure with three aisles. In a very short time over half of the \$100,000 and more that the church was to cost was collected. In the spring of 1871, the church was begun. It may be well to relate some of the circumstances connected with the laying of the corner-stone. According to the story current in the Order it rained in torrents that day. In order to protect the Archbishop and clergy a large tent was erected. Father Dominic Kraus, pastor of St. Boniface's parish in Jersey City and undoubtedly remembered by many, was the preacher. When the rain began to pour into the tent, the Archbishop gave the preacher a hint to shorten his sermon. But the preacher poured forth his eloquence in streams as copious as the rain and neither seemed likely to have an end. Archbishop, priests and laity received an overflowing Asperges. The musical instruments, filled with water, produced tones so dreadful that a number of car-horses were frightened and carried off passengers and all, a thing never known to have happened before.

The author of these notes well remembers how in October, 1871, a short time after he landed, he paid a visit to Father Bonaventure, accompanied by the late Father Godfrey Prieth, pastor of St. Peter's in Newark, N. J. They found Father Bonaventure covered with dust from the brick and mortar, walking about on the still open beams. At that time he lived in the old rectory. On June 24th, the feast of St. John, the aged Cardinal McCloskey had the pleasure of dedicating the completed edifice. St. John's Church is a beautiful structure situated on Thirtieth Street near Seventh Avenue and is a great honor to all who had a share in its erection.



CHURCH AND CONVENT OF ST. BONAVENTURE, DETROIT, MICH.





The splendid spire, the fine convent and the large school were built after the plans made by Mr. William Schickel, who also built many of the churches, schools, and convents that Father Bonaventure has since erected. In this handsome church, over the side altar, we find Lamprecht's beautiful painting of the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope. This truly Catholic artist painted also the fine picture which almost entirely covers the one side of the refectory of the adjoining convent. It illustrates a legend of St. Bonaventure and St. Francis, related in a poem written by the old Capuchin, Father Vincent. Historically the picture is of value as it contains excellent portraits of Fathers Francis, Bonaventure, Anthony (kneeling), and Lawrence, who holds a child (the future St. Bonaventure).

Here also are found rare solid silver candlesticks of the seventeenth century, hammered and chased. These came from the former convent of Katharinenthal, near Schafhausen in the Canton of Thurgau. The parish of Herdern in Father Bonaventure's birthplace had bought them at the suppression of the convent, and in turn sold them to him during his visit there. This acquisition for the convent of St. Francis shows the Capuchin Father's love for Christian art.

St. John's parish had been a source of much trouble to Father Bonaventure, but perhaps for that reason it was his favorite parish. In no other congregation was his stay so long and his later visits so frequent. The convent was canonically instituted under the name and patronage of St. Fidelis on April 19, 1872. It may here be mentioned that during Father Bonaventure's pastorate the St. Vincent de Paul society was established in the parish. Mr. Louis Benziger, an intimate and lifelong friend of Father Bonaventure was its first president. Since the building of the church this society has been one of the greatest blessings to the poor of the congregation.

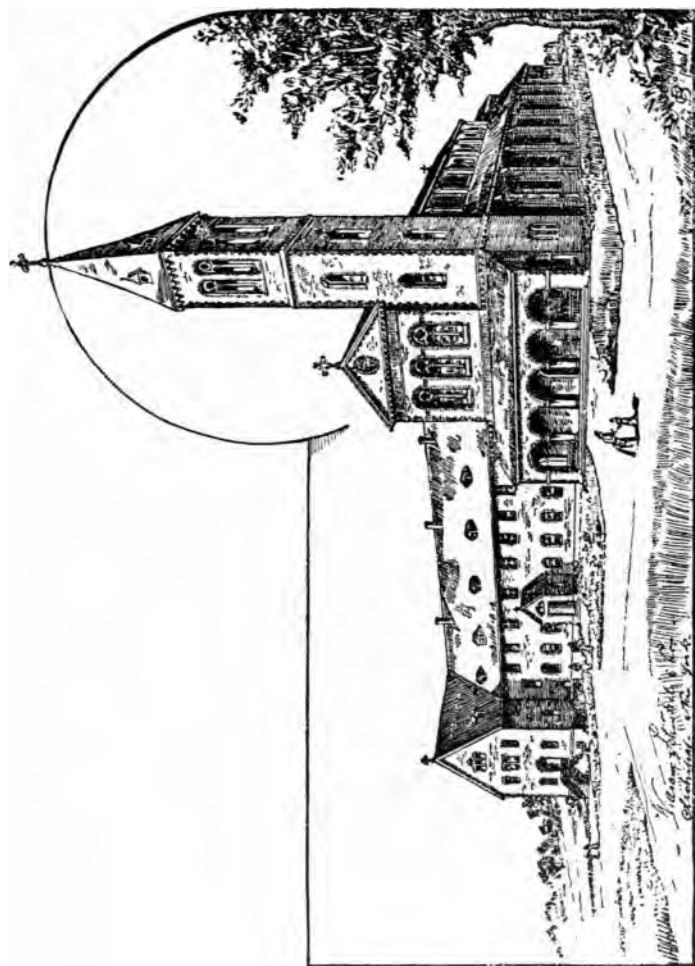
At the first capitular election held at Calvary, February 6, 1873, Father Bonaventure was chosen assistant to the Rev. Father Commissary, who afterwards became Father Custos. Father Bonaventure himself was appointed custos (acting

provincial) at the third election, held October 16, 1879. At the same time he accepted the position of Superior of the convent at Appleton, Wisconsin. Here the Bishop of Green Bay, the Right Rev. F. X. Krautbauer, had given the Capuchins the care of St. Joseph's parish. A new schoolhouse had become a necessity for the parish, and they accepted the plans made by Architect Schickel. Its corner-stone was laid by Bishop Vertin of Marquette, Michigan, on May 30, 1880. As early as November of the same year, the handsome school-building was blessed by Bishop Krautbauer. It cost \$22,000 to build. A fair was held in 1880 to reduce the debt, at which the sum of \$3,000 was obtained. A second held in the following year realized \$1,400.

With the consent of the congregation, Father Bonaventure enlarged and improved the rectory, which was too small for the members of the community. An old wooden tower which obstructed the view of the garden was an eyesore to the Superior. It was doomed to destruction, and one fine day, Father Bonaventure sent a Brother for an axe. With this he proceeded to chop down the old tower which, in order to avenge itself on the old Capuchin, nearly buried him under its ruins. Father Bonaventure narrowly escaped.

In 1881, Father Bonaventure reorganized the Young Men's society. The inhabitants of Appleton still remember the stirring patriotic speech Father Bonaventure made at the memorial meeting held in the fall of 1881 on the occasion of the assassination of President Garfield.

In May, 1882, Father Bonaventure traveled to Rome, with the famous theologian Father Anthony, to procure the formal erection of a new province in the United States. The journey was successful and on August 7, 1882, the Capuchin body founded at Calvary was recognized as a regular province of the Order. Upon his return, St. Joseph's parish at Appleton gave him a reception, an expression of their gratitude and affection. But only too soon was he again to be taken from them. On October 19, 1882, at the first council at Calvary, he was elected the first provincial of the Capuchin province of



CHURCH AND CONVENT OF THE SACRED HEART, YONKERS, N. Y.



vent to serve as guardians of the dead. In the year 1881, the little basilica and hospice were blessed. They were built after plans by Mr. William Schickel. On this occasion also Father Bonaventure was the orator of the day. During his short stay Father Bonaventure had erected in the garden before the convent a much admired life-size representation of the Crucifixion. Soon after this was dedicated, Father Bonaventure was again called to another field of activity.

When a third house was to be opened in New York Father Bonaventure was again chosen to be its founder. Our late lamented Archbishop M. A. Corrigan, a lifelong friend of Father Bonaventure and a great admirer of the Capuchins, showed them many marks of his favor. As such we may regard the rescript procured by him from the Congregation of the Propaganda on May 2, 1886, giving the Capuchin Fathers permission to establish a German church in Harlem. On August 18th a house was purchased at No. 221 East One hundred and twelfth Street, where divine service was held until the modest church on One hundred and thirteenth Street was completed. Since then many a poor sinner has been attracted by its peculiar charm, and much consolation, peace, and encouragement have been given to many a visitor who has there prayed and made his confession. The church is dedicated to Our Lady Queen of the Angels, and thus bears the same name as the church of the Portiuncula at Assisi. It is built in true Capuchin fashion, and the holy angels could tell of many graces received there from Our Lady. Father Bonaventure erected it, built up the parish, and acted as Superior and custos from 1886 to 1888. The zeal of the German Catholics of the neighborhood seems to have diminished lately, so that we see the pews of the church of the Portiuncula filled by English-speaking Catholics.

Father Bonaventure, who always had an eye to the future, looked about for a place near New York suitable for the novitiate of a new Eastern province should the present province be divided. Such a spot he found in the northern part of Yonkers. In October 1889, the council of the province resolved

St. Joseph. According to the decrees given at Rome the province included Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, and the diocese of Fort Wayne and Chicago. In this same provincial council a wish was expressed to establish a convent midway between the East and West. This was to serve both as a residence for the provincial and as a novitiate. Father Bonaventure negotiated with Bishop Borgess of Detroit and was delighted to receive the Bishop's permission to build a small convent near the Catholic graveyard on Mount Elliott Avenue, Detroit. On July 14, 1884, the convent and chapel were dedicated in honor of St. Bonaventure. Since that time, the Fathers residing there have taken charge of the cemetery and at the same time assist the parish priests in their duties. The opportunity of attending a short service and Benediction is given to the faithful who on Sunday afternoons visit the graves of their deceased relatives and friends, and many were attracted to the little chapel. The cemetery and the quiet surroundings of St. Bonaventure's make it an ideal spot for a novitiate. Here Father Bonaventure resided from 1882 to 1885 and again from 1894 to 1897.

The modest monastery to which no parish is attached, but which has only the care of the extensive cemetery, is now completed—a worthy monument commemorating the six hundredth anniversary of the Seraphic Doctor of the Church, St. Bonaventure, and expressing the gratitude of his transatlantic sons in the United States to their seraphic founder, St. Francis.

In 1884, Father Bonaventure departed for Rome with Father Laurentius and Father Lucas in order to take part in the election of a general for the Order. This meeting was held on May 9th, and Father Bonaventure and his companions were the first American Capuchins to be present at such an election.

From 1885, when his term as provincial expired, until May 18, 1886, Father Bonaventure was Superior of the church of the Holy Cross, at the laying of whose corner-stone he had preached the sermon. It had always been Bishop Henni's wish that this cemetery should be a Campo Santo for all the parishes of the city of Milwaukee, with the Capuchins in a little con-

vent to serve as guardians of the dead. In the year 1881, the little basilica and hospice were blessed. They were built after plans by Mr. William Schickel. On this occasion also Father Bonaventure was the orator of the day. During his short stay Father Bonaventure had erected in the garden before the convent a much admired life-size representation of the Crucifixion. Soon after this was dedicated, Father Bonaventure was again called to another field of activity.

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PROVINCIAL CHAPTER, AUGUST 1903, HELD IN DETROIT, MICH.

P. Criscentian. P. Benno. P. Hyronimus. P. Honoratus. P. Stephen. P. Casimir. P. Otto.  
P. Ignatius. P. Bonaventure. P. Capristan. P. Gabriel. P. Laurentius I. P. Laurentius II. P. Antonius. P. Alphons.





to give up its hospice at Fort Lee, and buy in its stead a site at Shonnard Place, Yonkers. Here, the following year, Father Bonaventure built the wings of the convent of the Sacred Heart, one of them serving as a church, the other as a dwelling-place. The laying of the corner-stone took place on June 21, 1891. On November 5, 1891, the convent was blessed by the Reverend General, Father Bernard von Andermatt, who was at that time visiting the Capuchins in the United States. The church was dedicated on November 5th by His Grace the Most Rev. Archbishop M. A. Corrigan. It is the only Irish parish in the Mount Calvary province. The love and devotion of the parishioners show that the Capuchins are popular among the English-speaking Catholics as well.

From 1894 to 1897 Father Bonaventure was again provincial, and resided at Detroit. In 1897 Rt. Rev. Bishop McDonnell of Brooklyn requested the Capuchin Fathers to take charge of St. Michael's parish in East New York. Father Bonaventure, who was then provincial, sent Father Alois Bloentigen to take charge of it until the next chapter of the province should decide whether to accept the Bishop's offer. The idea found favor with the chapter and Father Bonaventure, whose term as provincial had just expired, went to East New York as first Superior of the Capuchin house. He took charge of the parish on August 10, 1897, and almost immediately began building an addition to the pastoral residence. This was too small for the new community, which was to consist of three priests and two Brothers. On the sixteenth day of the same month Father Bonaventure bought three lots, on which he purposed to build a school. By the end of October, 1899, the new school, the pride of the whole parish, was opened. In the same year also, the church was enlarged by the addition of a children's chapel. Here Father Bonaventure labored until 1900. During this short time St. Michael's parish had grown greatly, and Father Bonaventure, through his self-sacrificing activity, gained for himself the respect and love of the whole parish as well as that of his Capuchin brethren.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. JOSEPH F. DALY ON THE  
OCCASION OF THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE  
REV. BONAVENTURE FREY, O.M.CAP.

(THE pages we have presented to our readers above are a part of a memorial booklet, printed on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the venerable Bonaventure Frey. His friends, however, did not confine themselves to this printed expression of their love and esteem. Delegation after delegation went to the Sacred Heart Monastery at Yonkers to bear witness to their attachment to the Jubilarian and to their veneration for him.)

Among the committees who thus offered their congratulations were: The League of the Sacred Heart, The third Order of St. Francis, The Children of Mary, the Y. M. C. A., the Children of the Sacred Heart and the Altar Boys of the Sacred Heart.

The spokesman of the parish of the Sacred Heart at Yonkers was the Hon. Joseph F. Daly, whom not only all Yonkers but all New York honors, and who has been for many years a member and officer of the United States Catholic Historical Society. Our readers will no doubt be delighted to find here, his ringing and elegant speech, which is at the same time a contribution to the History of Catholicism.—C. G. H.)

We have met to-night to honor a minister of God and a friend of mankind, whose faithful service stretches over the long space of fifty years.

There have been many anxious, toilsome and weary periods since the young priest pronounced his vows in the monastery of St. Gall on a May morning in 1854; but he then committed his future with all its trials to God. Doubtless he never dreamt of a Golden Jubilee and the long way to the twentieth century. All he hoped was to be able to do his appointed work; to go where it called him and to be found faithful unto death.

Most Catholic priests, alas! do not live long. Death lies

in ambush for them on every side of the straight and narrow path. Fatigue, exposure, exhaustion and pestilence too often close the book of life before the page of the Golden Jubilee is reached. We have seen the young, the strong, the fervid and the eloquent scarcely lift up their voices in the sanctuary, ere that holy place echoed the sad tones of their requiem. What wonder then that we commemorate an occasion like this and testify our gratitude to the Divine Power which has sustained such a life of usefulness through the vicissitudes of half a century.

Father Bonaventure has been fifty years a missionary of the Christian faith! Was it not a special Providence that directed our young missionary to begin his priesthood in the monastery of St. Gall? That Seminary was named after a great missionary who, thirteen hundred years ago, left the green shores of his native Ireland to preach the Gospel in England, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland, and ultimately, in the latter beautiful country, to found the seat of religion and learning which bears his name and in which our young apostle was ordained; ordained to become a missionary in his turn; to leave his native land for America and there to preach the Gospel to countless peoples from Ireland, from England, from France, from Germany, from Switzerland and from Italy, who now make up the great body of the American people.

It was forty-two years ago that Father Bonaventure after two years as a parish priest in his own land was inspired to desire the missionary life. His first thoughts turned to the far East, to Asia; and afterward from what he had heard of the great Western world, his aspirations were for our shores. With a faithful fellow-worker he gave missions in Wisconsin, and then came the beginning of his life work, the establishment of the Capuchin Order in America. With the approval of Pope Pius IX. of sainted memory he was invested with the habit of St. Francis and established the first house of the Capuchin Order (called Mount Calvary) in the same state of Wisconsin, while the fathers ministered in many other churches throughout the commonwealth.

Ten years after this beginning Father Bonaventure came to New York City and laid the foundation of the well-known Capuchin church in Pitt Street. Four years later he was called by the late Cardinal McCloskey to reorganize the parish of St. John the Baptist in west Thirtieth Street, a work of infinite labor and zeal, of wisdom and tact, at last crowned with success owing to the efforts of our missionary.

Twenty-two years ago he founded a church and convent of the Order in Detroit having been in the meantime elected provincial.

Thirteen years ago he laid the foundation in our own city of Yonkers of the monastery and church of the Sacred Heart which in that year was dedicated by the late beloved Archbishop Corrigan.

Again reelected provincial in 1894, Father Bonaventure built a school and convent in East New York, and now again with his beloved people in Yonkers he is here as full of zeal as in the beginning of his fifty years. The limits of such an introduction as this would not suffice to even give a catalogue of his deeds. You know what the work of a priest is, and imagination can picture what it is to be a missionary for fifty years. How many souls converted, how many lives redeemed, how many hearts comforted, how many ignorant taught, how many tempted saved, how many times joy given to the angels in heaven who, we are told rejoice over even one sinner brought to repentance! How many times have his revered hands been raised in supplication and in benediction! How many times has his strong voice thrilled multitudes in the churches, and have his tender accents moved conscience in the Sacraments!

My first words to-night were that we had met to honor a friend of mankind. That means a great deal in these days when we hear so many, while seeking their own ends, claim to be "Friends of the people." Is there such another friend of the people as the Catholic priest? Every hour of the day he is ready to give to suffering humanity, and "all for love and nothing for reward." Has he ambition? Yes, to bring every wanderer into the fold? Has he pride? Yes, to see the spires of new

churches pointing their way to heaven. He is of the earth because mankind is here and needs him; but he is doing for the children of men the work committed to his hands by the Father of Heaven.

Father Bonaventure, the people love you. They thank God to-night that they are blessed with your presence. They wish you many, many happy years to come with your loving people; your people who have given thought to provide some enduring memorial of this happy occasion.

They know that in the holy poverty which you have vowed for your life portion, the only gift you value is one that blesses others. They know that you rejoice in the music that floats upward in the solemn service of the church, and so they have dedicated a new organ in memory of your Golden Jubilee. They know you love the comfort of the people and that you have striven to make easy for them the way wherein they should walk, and so they have laid a smooth pavement leading to the door of the church. These shall be your gifts from your beloved people, and in your name I am honored to-night in being requested to present Mr. Brennan and his committee who will hand you the documents which attest the devotion of your congregation.

REGISTER OF THE CLERGY LABORING IN THE  
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK FROM EARLY  
MISSIONARY TIMES TO 1885.

BY THE MOST REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.

V.

KUBIN, REV. WENCESLAUS, C.SS.R.

Father Kubin, born at Slankau Feb. 9, 1823, made his profession as a Redemptorist in Austria, 1844, was ordained Aug. 12, 1845, and served as assistant at the church of the Most Holy Redeemer, this city, during 1847-48. Later he was assigned by his superiors to other missionary work, but returned, in 1851, to the church of the Most Holy Redeemer, where he remained until his death. He was carried off by ship fever, which he contracted while attending the public hospitals, March 17, 1852.

LUTZ, REV. JOSEPH A.

From 1833 to 1835, Father Lutz was stationed at the cathedral of St. Louis, but in 1848 became attached to this diocese. Shortly after his arrival in New York he was placed in charge of the German congregation of St. John the Baptist in West Thirtieth Street, remaining at that post until 1852. About this time Archbishop Hughes planned to form the new parish of the Holy Cross, and Father Lutz was selected to organize the new congregation. To this work he applied himself so zealously that, barely two years later, the church of the Holy Cross in West Forty-second Street was completed, and on Dec. 17, 1854, it was dedicated by Vicar General Starr. He remained at the church of the Holy Cross until 1855, when he was succeeded by Father Martin, O.S.D. From Holy Cross

parish Father Lutz was transferred to the church of the Immaculate Conception, as assistant, which charge he held until his death, Feb. 6, 1861.

DE LANDSHEER, REV. CHARLES, C.S.S.R.

Born in Calcken in Belgium, Dec. 2, 1812, Father Landsheer was ordained May 25, 1839. He had been a secular priest before he joined the Redemptorist Congregation. After completing his noviceship at St. Irond, he was one of the band chosen to come to America with the celebrated Father Bernard Hafkensheid in 1859; they had as fellow-voyagers Fathers Walworth and Hecker. But he was not destined for a lengthy ministry in the new country in America, for at Quarantine hospital Father De Landsheer contracted the ship fever, and within five weeks of his arrival here was called to his reward, being the third priest in seven months to be numbered among the victims of the fever. During those five weeks, however, he found many opportunities for the exercise of his zeal, and God deigned to bless his labors with many conversions—some of them remarkable—both of Protestants to the faith and of Catholics to the practice of their religion.

Father De Landsheer was a good and true Redemptorist, and died a martyr to his charity. He departed this life on April 2, 1852.

LARKIN, REV. JOHN, S.J.

Father Larkin was born in the county of Durham, England, in 1810. He made his preparatory studies at Ushaw College, of which Dr. Lingard was then Vice-President. Among Father Larkin's fellow-students was one who afterwards became the illustrious Cardinal Wiseman. Finishing his classical course, Father Larkin, with a view to broadening this knowledge, set out to travel, his itinerary taking in a good part of the East Indies. Returning to Europe, he was received into the Society of St. Sulpice in Paris, and while yet a student of that Congregation was sent to this country. He was ordained at Baltimore, and assigned by his superiors to the Sulpician

college at Montreal, where he taught Mathematics and Philosophy with brilliant success. In 1840, Father Larkin returned to the United States, shortly afterwards entering the Society of Jesus at St. Mary's, Kentucky. The next six years were spent in missionary work in the South. In 1846 with other members of his Order, he came to this city, where he took an active part in the establishment of the Jesuit Church in Elizabeth Street and the Latin School connected therewith. In 1850, Pope Pius IX., recognizing the abilities of Father Larkin, appointed him to the vacant see of Toronto, Canada, but the humble Jesuit declined this honor. The following year he went to Fordham as President of St. John's College, and three years later was sent by his superiors to England, where he labored on the mission, preaching in all the principal cities of that country.

From England, Father Larkin was appointed to the office of Visitor of the houses of the Order in Ireland, but in 1857 was recalled to this country and assigned to St. Francis Xavier's Church in this city. He was called to his reward, suddenly, on Dec. 11, 1858, just as he was leaving the confessional where, with his characteristic love of souls, he had spent that whole afternoon.

Father Larkin was a remarkable orator, a finished scholar, a most holy priest, and indeed all in all one of the ablest Fathers the Jesuits have had in this country.

(Notice of funeral in *Freeman's Journal* Dec. 18, 1858.)

#### PETIT, FATHER NICHOLAS, S.J.

Father Nicholas Petit (whose complete family name was Petittdemange) was born in St. Domingo in 1789. While Nicholas was still a child, his widowed mother, to escape the horrors of the revolution then raging in that island, was obliged to take her children and seek refuge in this country. She came to Baltimore, Md., with her little family, where for several years she taught school, finally returning to her native place in the south of France. In France Father Petit completed his theological studies and was ordained priest, and, upon the



restoration of the Society of Jesus, was enrolled among its members in 1816. Soon after he became associated with Father Gayon in those celebrated missions which did so much to revive the spirit of faith among the Catholics of France. In 1835 his superiors sent him to this country, and for eleven years he labored on the missions in the diocese of Louisville. From that field of activity he was transferred to New York, serving in 1847 as assistant to Father Larkin at the church of the Holy Name in Elizabeth Street (the first Jesuit church), later at the church of St. Vincent de Paul, and, finally, at the Jesuit church in Troy, where he died of apoplexy Feb. 1, 1855, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Father Petit was a man of great piety and zeal, and had a particular genius for organizing processions and other religious celebrations.

(See *Catholic Almanac* for 1856, page 298.)

VERHEYDEN, REV. PETER, S.J.

Father Verheyden was born in 1800, at Termonde, Belgium, entered the Society of Jesus in 1821, and was a member of the pioneer band of his Order that in 1846 came to this city from Kentucky. He was an accomplished musician as well as an architect of no small ability. He designed the plans after which the church of the Holy Name at the corner of Elizabeth and Walker Streets was built. It was blessed by Bishop McCloskey (then coadjutor,) on the feast of St. Ignatius, 1847.

Father Verheyden was then transferred to Troy, where he commenced the building of St. Joseph's Church, but later returned to his native place and died there, a secular priest.

CUMMINGS, REV. JEREMIAH W., D.D.

Dr. Cummings, whose life and labors will ever be part of the history of St. Stephen's parish of this city, was born in Washington, D. C., on April 15, 1823. After pursuing his classical and theological studies at the College of the Propaganda, he was raised to the priesthood by Mgr. Brunelli, in

Rome, Jan. 3, 1847. Returning to this city, Father Cummings filled for some little time the place of assistant at the cathedral, and was then selected to organize St. Stephen's parish. The original structure on Madison Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street was completed by him in 1849, but five years later had to be abandoned and sold, on account of the purchase by the Harlem Railroad Co. of the adjoining property. In 1854 the present church of St. Stephen was built, and Dr. Cummings was engaged in enlarging the edifice at the time of his death, which occurred Jan. 4, 1866.

Dr. Cummings was a genial and polished gentleman, much courted in society, and very popular with his fellow-priests, as shown by the large number of clergymen present at his funeral.

SODERINI, FATHER TIBERIUS, S.J.

Another member of the group of noted Jesuits who came to this city in 1846 was Father Soderini. For about a year he was stationed at the church of the Holy Name of Jesus in Walker Street, and was then transferred to St. James' (1848-49). Afterwards he left the Order and returned to Europe.

DE LUYNES, REV. CHARLES HIPPOLYTE, S.J.

Father Charles Hippolyte de Luynes was born in Paris, 1805, of Irish parents. His father was the Mr. Lewines mentioned in the Memoirs of Wolfe Tone and the Diary of Thomas Addis Emmet as the ambassador of the United Irishmen of 1798 to the French Government. Mr. Lewines altered his name because the English authorities would not transmit letters addressed to him, an attainted man. Napoleon bestowed on him the prefix De for improvements made by him in the manufacture of silk.

Young de Luynes was brought up at the University of France, where he was the fellow-student of Drouin de l'Huys, Lacordaire, and other men of note. His theological studies were made at St. Sulpice. After his ordination by Archbishop

de Quelen in 1830, Bishop Frayssinous, the Minister of Public Work and Instruction, promised him his powerful aid to procure advancement, but the young priest had other views. He felt that he was called to be a simple missionary. Therefore, after a visit to his mother in Dublin, he started for the United States (1831), and was received with open arms by Bishop Flaget, then of Bardstown. Appointed to a chair in the Bishop's seminary, he was at the same time active as journalist and missionary. His missionary excursions often took him from one to two hundred miles from home. Among the many friends he made in Kentucky were Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, Archbishop Spalding, and Bishop Reynolds. After working ardently under Bishop Flaget for some ten years, Father de Luynes determined to become a Jesuit. Accordingly, we find him at St. Mary's College, a successful professor and admired orator, until 1846, when he came East with the rest of the Kentucky Fathers. In New York his life was for the most part spent in the ministry, and as a pastor he was loved and respected, not only at the church of St. Francis Xavier in New York, where he long resided, but also at St. Paul's, Brooklyn, and in Utica. In 1851-53 he paid a visit to Mexico, where he received generous contributions for the new college of St. Francis Xavier. After the death of Bishop Reynolds in 1855, he was appointed Bishop of Charleston. On hearing of his appointment, before the arrival of the bulls, he left New York and went to South America.

Father de Luynes spoke the Spanish language with the same elegance as French and English, and was highly respected by the Bishops of Mexico and Peru. After the appointment of Bishop Lynch Father de Luynes returned to New York, where he worked among the resident and visiting Spaniards and Spanish Americans. In 1876 his health began to fail, and he died Jan. 20, 1878. His elder brother, Laurent, who was chief of a division in the French Ministry of Public Instruction, where M. Guizot at one time served under him, survived him for several years. M. Laurent de Luynes' son was Professor of Chemistry in the Sorbonne.

## QUINN, RT. REV. MGR. WILLIAM, D.D.

Mgr. Quinn was born May 21, 1820, in the parish of Donoughmore, County Donegal, Ireland. He received his early education in the schools of the diocese of Derry. Coming to this country in 1841, he entered St. Joseph's Seminary, Fordham, and on Dec. 17 four years later was raised to the priesthood by Cardinal McCloskey (then coadjutor to Bishop Hughes). His first appointment was to St. Joseph's Church, as assistant to Father McCarron, where he remained until September, 1849. Going thence to Rondout as pastor, Father Quinn, after a few months' stay, was recalled to New York and assigned to St. Peter's, Barclay Street, which for an unbroken period of twenty-four years was destined to be the scene of his labors. He took charge of the parish when it was in great financial embarrassment, and by his administrative abilities, of which he had already given ample evidence, he succeeded in paying off the deposit account of the church, amounting to \$120,000 (of this amount less than one hundred dollars was left unclaimed). In December, 1881, Father Quinn was elevated to the rank of Domestic Prelate.

After almost a quarter of a century spent at old St. Peter's, Mgr. Quinn was made Rector of the Cathedral, and for a time was administrator of the diocese as well as Vicar General. He also served as chaplain to the Sisters of Charity, and to other religious communities in the city, and almost from the day of his first appointment was actively connected with all the charities of the archdiocese. In 1887, Mgr. Quinn, upon the advice of his physician, went to Europe, but his health did not improve. On April 15th of the same year, while on his way back to this country, he died at Paris. His remains rest in Calvary.

Mgr. Quinn was an able and gifted man, a successful administrator, and a true friend.

(See Goulding's *Churches*, pp. 104, seq.)

WHEELER, REV. DENIS.

Father Wheeler was educated at Emmittsburg, and, after completing the prescribed theological course at the Seminary at Fordham, was ordained by Bishop Hughes, May 30, 1847. The following month he was assigned to the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Providence, R. I., as assistant. He remained there until July of the succeeding year. He next assumed the chaplaincy of Mt. St. Vincent's in this city; in 1849 went to Flushing as pastor, thence to St. Mary's Church, Rondout, as assistant, remaining there until September, 1851.

MARIVAUT, REV. M.

Rev. M. Marivault was chaplain at the convent of the Sacred Heart in Manhattanville in 1849. Before that time he had been attached to the diocese of Detroit, where he labored as missionary to the Indians of Pokagon, Cass Co., and its adjacent stations.

HOLZER, REV. LAWRENCE, C.SS.R.

Father Holzer was born at Mintrachin in Bavaria, Sept. 17, 1819. Having nearly completed his theological studies, he entered the Congregation of St. Alphonsus, made his religious profession at Altötting, Bavaria, Nov. 1, 1844, and was ordained priest May 17, 1845. Two years later he came to America, where he became one of the most prominent Redemptorist missionaries. Besides other places where he was superior for a number of terms, he filled that office in New York for one year, from February, 1861 to May, 1862 and again from 1872-1875. During the latter term he took a leading part in starting a German Catholic daily, *Die Presse*, which, after a troubled existence of a few years, proved a failure. A similar enterprise of his at Pittsburg was more successful. His name became widely known as a missionary throughout a great part of the United States, both east and west of the Mississippi. His leisure hours he employed in scientific pursuits. Being a great botanist he spent many free days in roaming through the woods

in search of rare specimens of plants. He found one species, hitherto unknown, which received his name. Toward the end of his life he was a great sufferer. He died at Rochester, N. Y., Dec. 27, 1876.

SENEZ, REV. LOUIS DOMINIC.

Born in Paris in 1813, Father Senez, upon completing his theological course at the seminary of St. Sulpice, was raised to the priesthood in 1838. At the invitation of Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati he came to the United States. His labors in this country were not confined to the western missions. After serving as pastor of St. Mary's, Chillicothe, Ohio, until 1846, he came East and was affiliated to this diocese. In 1847-48 he was pastor of Dover, N. J.; he was then assigned as assistant to Father Moran at St. John's, Newark, and later placed in charge of St. Patrick's parish there. This church (now the cathedral) he finished in 1850. For three years thereafter Father Senez remained at St. Patrick's, but on the arrival of Bishop Bayley in November, 1853, was transferred to St. John's, Paterson, continuing there until August, 1857, when he went to his former diocese, Cincinnati. Returning to New Jersey in April, 1859, Father Senez was appointed pastor of the newly-formed parish of St. Mary's, Jersey City, where, with the exception of a short interval, he remained until his death, Feb. 11, 1900.

He was a superior man, with a wonderful power over his people, and to his zeal and untiring labors St. Mary's owes the hospital, school, institute, and asylum connected with that parish, and last, but not least, the fine church edifice, which was finished and dedicated just three years after his coming to the parish.

His funeral took place Feb. 14, 1900, from the Immaculate Conception Church, Jersey City, absolution being given by Archbishop Corrigan, who when a boy had been prepared for his first holy communion by Father Senez.

REGNIER, REV. AUGUSTINE, S.J.

Father Regnier was born at Lacadie, near Montreal, Canada, Aug. 22, 1820, studied the classics, philosophy, and one year of theology at St. Hyacinthe, Canada, and a second year at the seminary of St. Sulpice, Montreal. He was the first novice of the New York-Canada mission, which he joined Sept. 9, 1843. In 1845 he was sent to Georgetown to complete his theological studies, and was the following year recalled to St. John's, Fordham, which had just been transferred to the Society of Jesus. In 1847 he was ordained priest by Archbishop Hughes in the cathedral of New York.

During some seventeen or eighteen years he was employed in the Jesuit Colleges at Fordham and Montreal, as Prefect of Discipline, teacher, treasurer, or minister. The last twenty years of his life were spent in the duties of the sacred ministry in Troy, Chatham (Canada), and Blackwell's Island, New York. He died at St. Francis Xavier's College, N. Y., April 1, 1883.

In the colleges Father Regnier was noted for his affability and courtesy; in the ministry for generous devotedness and tender charity to the poor and afflicted.

HUDON, REV. HENRY.

Father Hudon was born Sept. 6, 1823, at Riviere Ouelle, seventy-five miles below Quebec. He was a student at the college of Ste. Anne de la Pocatiere, on the Lower St. Lawrence, when the Jesuits returned to Canada in 1842. On Oct. 18, of the following year, he entered the Society, being the second novice to enter the Order after its return to Canada. He was then twenty years old. After the novitiate, he was sent to the college of St. Mary's, Bardstown, Kentucky. Here he learned to speak English. Thence transferred to St. John's College, Fordham, he assisted in the college work and pursued his philosophical and theological studies, with the exception of one year, 1850-51, which was spent at St. Mary's College, Montreal. In 1855-56 he taught Third, and in 1856-57,

Second, Grammar, at St. Francis Xavier's, and from 1857-60 was Vice-President and Prefect of Studies. In 1861-62, he was again stationed at the Montreal college in this same capacity, and in the year after, 1863, he came to fill the same office at St. Francis Xavier's, New York, until 1870. In that year he was named president of the college of St. Francis Xavier, an office which he filled to the satisfaction of all till September 1880.

Father Hudon returned to Canada in 1880 and was appointed the first superior of the newly established Canada Mission. After seven years in this office, he was made rector of the college of St. Boniface, holding that charge seven years more. In 1893 he celebrated his golden jubilee as a Jesuit. The year following he was Minister at Sault-au-Recollet, the Canadian Jesuit Novitiate; in 1896, he was named Spiritual Father at the House of Studies in Montreal, and after a lingering illness he died at the Sault, Feb. 26, 1897.

HAVEQUEZ, REV. ARSENIUS, S.J.

Born in 1808, Father Havequez entered the Society of Jesus for the Province of Champagne in 1832. For a short time during the year 1847, he was Professor of Mathematics and Sciences at Fordham.

DOUCET, REV. EDWARD.

Father Doucet was born at Three Rivers, Canada, March 12, 1825. He made his classical studies at St. Mary's College, Montreal, and entered the Society of Jesus, Sept. 7, 1844. While still a novice he was sent from Canada to St. John's College, Fordham, to begin his course of studies as a Jesuit. Father Doucet taught Belles-Lettres at St. Francis Xavier's in 1851-52, and Rhetoric in 1852-53. In 1861 a Novitiate was opened at Fordham and Father Doucet was appointed Novice Master. He became Vice-President of Fordham, 1859, and Rector, July 31, 1863. In November, 1865, Father Doucet went to France to recover his failing health. For some years



he was engaged in the sacred ministry at Lille, and in the college of Amiens as preacher and Professor of English. In 1868 he returned to Canada and became Prefect of Studies at St. Mary's College, Montreal. In the autumn of 1871, he was sent to Fordham. He spent two years—1879-80 and 1880-81, in the ministry at St. Peter's, Jersey City, and the two following as Socius to the Master of Novices at West Park, on the Hudson.

In 1883 he returned to Fordham to teach philosophy for the remaining years of his life. He died peacefully at Fordham, Dec. 9, 1890.

DURANQUET, REV. HENRY.

Father Duranquet was born on Dec. 18, 1809, at Chalus, near Clermont, in France. Father Duranquet was feeble from childhood. As he grew up his health did not become more rugged, and when, after three years of theology in the Seminary of Clermont, he entered the Society of Jesus, he was obliged to leave again after a few months, owing to his frequent attacks of illness. However he continued his studies under the Jesuits, first at Milan, and afterwards at Rome. Here, on Sept. 3, 1836, the General of the Order, Father Roothan, received him into the Society, and sent him to New Orleans. He made his novitiate at Grand Coteau, La., and from 1837 to 1847 taught Grammar. When later on he came North he was appointed Professor of Mathematics at Fordham, where he remained for four years. In 1851 he was transferred to the college of St. Francis Xavier, and then to Canada, where he worked both as a professor and a pastor. After his return to New York in 1856, he remained here for thirty-one years. He spent two years in teaching and then took up parish work. In 1864 he was definitely appointed Prison Chaplain. In 1871, Hart's Island was added to his pastoral care, as well as the Schoolship and the Tombs. In 1887, being then in his seventy-ninth year, he was relieved of these toilsome offices. After some time spent in Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.,

where he taught French, he was called to Woodstock, and became Spiritual Father of that large community. He spent his last months in preparing for death. On Dec. 30, 1891, he was called to his reward.

FERARD, REV. MARTIN, S.J.

Father Ferard, a native of Tours, France, was born Sept. 8, 1817, and entered the Society of Jesus Oct. 21, 1839. He died in Montreal, Jan. 10, 1891. He taught French and was at the same time assistant-prefect at St. Francis Xavier's, 1852-54.

In the early seventies Father Ferard was superior of the Missions at Manitoulin Island, Lake Huron, and in 1874 was sent to Sault Ste. Marie. In 1884, he was working in missionary solitude at his great Ochipwe Dictionary. Pilling has a description of this manuscript dictionary in his *Bibliography of the Algonquin Languages*, p. 193. He died in 1891.

SCHIANSKI, REV. CHARLES.

Father Schianski, a native of Wischau, Moravia, was born Nov. 2, 1807, entered the Society of Jesus Nov. 30, 1841, was ordained on May 20, six years later by Bishop Hughes, and died March 12, 1852, in Montreal, Canada. Father Schianski was teaching German at Fordham in 1847 when the ship fever broke out among the immigrants at Montreal, Canada. With Father Driscoll and Father Dusneri he hastened to the relief of the plague-stricken. He and Father Dusneri fell victims to the deadly disease and died martyrs of charity in Montreal.

DESJACQUES, REV. MARINUS, S.J.

Father Desjacques was born in 1824 in La Muraz, Savoy, and was received into the French province of the Society of Jesus in 1842. He was at one time Prefect of Discipline at Fordham.

Father Desjacques departed this life in 1884, at Shanghai, China.

MIGNARD, REV. PAUL, S.J.

Born in Paris, Aug. 5, 1808, Father Mignard, upon completing his theological studies at Avignon under the direction of an uncle of the celebrated Father J. P. Gury, was received into the Society of Jesus in the French province of Lyons on Oct. 1, 1827. His studies in the Society were partly made at Rome. Coming to this country, he labored from 1836 to 1846 on the mission at Grand Coteau, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. In 1846 he went as a volunteer to assist the sick at Montreal during the dreadful scourge of typhus fever then raging among the immigrants. Returning to the United States the following year, he went to St. John's College, Fordham, as Professor of French, and became its Vice-President in 1852-53. In 1854 he went to St. Francis Xavier's as Procurator.

He was again at Fordham in 1861-63 as assistant pastor of the parish church. Returning to St. Francis Xavier's in 1863, he remained there for the next twenty-nine years. In that parish he had charge of the Apostleship of Prayer and the Sodality of the Sacred Heart, until failing health compelled him to give up active duties. His health growing worse, it was deemed necessary to remove him to St. Vincent's Hospital, where, after lingering for many months, he died, calm and well prepared, on Oct. 8, 1882.

Father Mignard was buried in the novitiate cemetery at West Park.

LE BRETON, REV. PETER, S.J.

Father Le Breton was born in the diocese of Vannes, France, Jan. 26, 1809. Entering the Society of Jesus Feb. 7, 1830, he was ordained Sept. 12, 1838, and was sent to Kentucky the next year. In 1847 he came to St. John's College, Fordham, but his health, which had for many years been delicate, did not improve there. On Oct. 10, 1848, he was summoned to his eternal reward.

## KLEINEIDAM, REV. ROBERT, C.SS.R.

Father Kleineidam was born Jan. 6, 1818, at Groschwitz, in Silesia. He made his classical studies in Breslau, came to America as a student, and was ordained March 3, 1844. For a number of years he labored as a secular priest in northern Ohio and in northwestern Pennsylvania. There he became acquainted with the Redemptorists, whom he joined in 1847, making his profession May 1, 1848. From that time he labored most zealously in various stations, both in the parishes of the Order, and in the country places at that time attended by these Fathers. Several times he was superior: at St. Peter's, Philadelphia, 1856-59; New York, 1860-61; Buffalo, 1861-62; St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, 1863-65. Besides his term of office, he was also stationed in New York for a number of years. While stationed in New York at the church of the Holy Redeemer he attended to the spiritual needs of the inmates of the city institutions on Blackwell's and Randall's Islands. He died at St. Michael's, Baltimore, Md., March 31, 1883.

## McMAHON, REV. JAMES.

Father James McMahon, a nephew of Dr. Montagu (who for many years was President of Maynooth College), was born in Ireland. After completing his theological studies at Maynooth, he received Holy Orders there May 21, 1842. After his ordination he went to St. Sulpice, Paris, and, entering the Society, was sent to the Sulpician house in Montreal.

In 1843 he came to New York; he served as assistant to Father Starrs at St. Mary's until 1850. That year he was appointed pastor of St. John the Evangelist's Church, remaining in charge until May 25, 1879, when the parish of St. John the Evangelist was incorporated in the cathedral parish. The title is perpetuated by the parish of the same name in East 55th Street, the basement chapel of which was completed in 1881 and blessed March 27th of that year. In the older St. John's he had built a grand organ, costing \$30,000, which was intended for the cathedral, but was lost by fire.

After the death of Father Curran of St. Andrew's, Father McMahon was appointed to succeed him in that church, as he had done thirty years previously at St. John's. Here he continued until October, 1891, when he resigned the pastorate and took up his residence at the Catholic University, Washington, to which institution he had transferred the bulk of his property. He died at Washington, April 15, 1901.

Father McMahon was a man of exceptional erudition, an excellent Hebrew and biblical scholar, and one of the editors of the Haydock Bible published by Donigan Brothers and Kelly. (See Shea's *Churches*, p. 438.) He was an indefatigable worker, and during his pastorate at St. John's rebuilt the church edifice which had been destroyed by fire Jan. 10, 1871.

GALDACANO, REV. ANTHONY.

Father Galdacano served as chaplain at the convent of the Sacred Heart, Manhattanville, 1849-50.

OUELLET, REV. THOMAS, S.J.

Father Thomas Ouellet received Holy Orders from Bishop Hughes Jan. 16, 1848, and was assigned to the Jesuit church of the Holy Name in Walker Street (which was destroyed by fire January 22d the same year, and replaced by St. Francis Xavier's, Sixteenth Street). From this parish he was transferred to St. John's, Fordham, where he taught in 1852-53, and in 1866 was again at St. Francis Xavier's. Thence he was sent to Guelph, Canada, and spent the rest of his years on the Canada mission.

He departed this life Nov. 26, 1894, at St. Mary's College, Montreal.

MARTIN, REV. ALEXANDER, O.S.F.

Father Martin was pastor of the church of St. Francis of Assisi, West Thirty-first Street, from 1848, succeeding its founder, Father Zachary Kuntze. He was a pious and devoted priest, and during his pastorate enlarged the church, which he

had rededicated March 1853. He remained in charge until 1855. Father Martin spent several years in the Holy Land and for a time was connected with the church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem.

SCOLLON, REV. THOMAS (TERENCE?).

Father Scollon was a graduate of All Hallows College in Ireland, where he was ordained by Bishop Murray on May 18, 1847, in his thirtieth year. His first appointment after his arrival in this country was to St. Peter's, New York, in 1849-50, whence he was transferred to the pastorate of Channingsville, now Wappinger's Falls, which had previously been attended by Father Reardon from Poughkeepsie. He was succeeded in this charge by Rev. George R. Brophy in 1850, and returning to this city served as assistant to Father McAleer at St. Columba's Church, from August, 1850, to August, 1852. From St. Columba's Father Scollon went to Haverstraw, remaining in charge there until 1856.

He again came back to the city, and was assistant at St. James' from 1857 to 1859. He then became detached from this diocese, and, after a short period of teaching in the college at Allegheny, went to Grant Rapids, Mich., finally becoming chaplain at the convent of Mercy, Morris, Minn., where he died Feb. 23, 1889.

McKEON, REV. FRANCIS.

Educated at Fordham, Father Francis McKeon received Holy Orders from Bishop Hughes on May 3, 1848, and for his first appointment had charge of Haverstraw, returning to this city as assistant at St. James' in 1849. He was then transferred to Piermont and the adjacent missions in Rockland County, where he remained until 1851, going thence as pastor, for the second time, of St. Peter's Church, Haverstraw, of which Piermont was made a station. In the following year this parish was divided, Father J. Quinn being appointed to Piermont, and Father Scollon to Haverstraw, and upon Father

McKeon's return to this city he was assigned to the pastorate of Gowanus and Fort Hamilton in the diocese of Brooklyn. In that charge he remained but a short while, and in 1852 was made assistant at the cathedral, this city.

FARRELL, REV. THOMAS.

Born in the County Longford, Ireland, April 23, 1823, Father Farrell, upon coming to this country, went to Mount St. Mary's, Emmittsburg. After finishing his classical studies there he entered the seminary at Fordham, where he was ordained by Bishop Hughes on May 3, 1848. He was assistant at the cathedral, and also chaplain at Mount St. Vincent's, in 1849; then assistant at St. Bridget's until 1852, then pastor of St. Paul's, Harlem. From St. Paul's, Father Farrell was, in 1853, transferred to the pastorate of St. Mary's, remaining there until 1857, when he left to take charge of St. Joseph's.

He was a kind-hearted and amiable priest, and notwithstanding his peculiar ideas on politics and other subjects, was much beloved by his congregation. He was an ardent advocate of the rights of the colored people, and in his will left the sum of \$5,000 as the nucleus of a fund for the erection of a chapel for their use. This bequest, through the zeal of Dr. Burtzell, led to the establishment in 1883 of St. Benedict's Church.

Father Farrell died July 20, 1880.

RYAN, REV. JOHN.

Father Ryan (then a member of the Society of Jesus) taught at St. John's, Fordham in 1846, and was later superior of the school of the Holy Name, remaining at that post until 1849. He built St. Francis Xavier's Church, and was President of the college until 1855, when, becoming a secular priest, he was received into the diocese by Bishop Hughes, who commissioned him to build the church of the Immaculate Conception in East Fourteenth Street. The cornerstone of the new church was laid Dec. 8, 1855, and the church dedicated May 16th three years later. This church was built as a special memento of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate

Conception, and the special blessing of Our Lady seems to have hovered over it from the beginning. But its zealous pastor, soon after the church was finished, succumbed to the arduous labors its establishment had imposed, and on March 22, 1861, Father Ryan was called to his reward.

Father Ryan was a zealous and active pastor, and has left a fitting monument of his labors in the three flourishing parishes in this diocese which were founded by him, namely, St. Francis Xavier's and the Immaculate Conception, this city, and St. Mary's, Yonkers, the first Catholic church built in that city.

CALLAN, REV. JOHN.

Father Callan was born in Newry, Ireland, in 1810, and after the prescribed course at Maynooth was raised to the priesthood on June 7, 1839. Upon his arrival in the United States in 1849, he was appointed assistant to Father Moran at St. John's, Newark, and the next year was given charge of the parish of Dover, N. J., which embraced a large area of country. Retiring from active pastoral duty, Father Callan was made chaplain of the Sister's Hospital, Jersey City, and later transferred to the hospital at Paterson, where, on the fortieth anniversary of his ordination, he received the last sacraments, expiring three days later, June 10, 1879.

He was buried from the cathedral in Newark, and, in accordance with his dying request, was laid to rest beside his brother Thomas in the cemetery of St. John, Newark.

MAGUIRE, REV. EUGENE.

Father Maguire was for sixteen years pastor of St. Paul's, Harlem. Ordained by Bishop Hughes on May 30, 1847, after completing the prescribed course of Theology in Fordham, Father Maguire's first appointment was as assistant at St. James' Church, Brooklyn. There he remained until the following year, going thence as pastor to Westchester. In 1854 he was made assistant at St. Bridget's, then filled successively the pastorates of Rondout and Yonkers. Returning to this



city in 1857 he served for a year as assistant in St. Joseph's Church, Sixth Avenue. He was next stationed at the church of the Immaculate Conception in Fourteenth Street, where he continued until 1862. He was at the cathedral from 1862 until 1866, when he was given charge of the Harlem parish. In this parish he built the large parochial schools, as well as a residence for the Sisters of Charity, had an addition (sixty-eight feet long) made to the church and the edifice rededicated July 9, 1871.

In September, 1882, Father Maguire went abroad for the benefit of his health, but while at Pau, France, his illness took a sudden turn, and he expired there January 8, 1883.

GUIBERT, REV. L.

Father Guibert was Professor of Moral Theology in the seminary at Fordham, in 1849.

POTTGEISER, REV. JULIUS, S.J.

In 1849-50, Father Pottgeiser taught Mathematics and Science in Fordham.

REILLY, REV. EDWARD.

In 1851, Father Reilly was appointed to form a new parish between St. Paul's, Harlem, and St. John the Evangelist's on the East Side. He selected a site on Eighty-fourth Street, between Fifth and Madison Avenues, provided a temporary chapel, and had the cornerstone of St. Lawrence O'Toole's Church (now St. Ignatius Loyola's) laid and blessed Oct. 20, 1851. He continued in the parish, struggling to build the church, until the following year, when he was replaced by Rev. Walter J. Quarter, who completed it on June 11, 1854.

Of Father Reilly's subsequent labors, there is no very clear record, but from the available sources of information he seems to have gone to Trinidad upon resigning the pastorate of St. Lawrence's, and, shortly after returning here, to have died at St. Mary's, Gowans town, Md., Dec. 11, 1852.

**O'HARA, REV. BERNARD.**

Father O'Hara was stationed at St. Peter's in 1849, and the following year was sent as assistant to Father McCarron at St. Joseph's.

**MADEORE, REV. BENEDICT, S.P.M.**

From 1850 to 1857, Father Madeore was stationed in the French church as assistant to Father Lafont, having previously (1846-47) served on the missions at St. Augustine, Fla. He returned to France, where he died in 1881, a week or so before Father Aubril.

**LUETTE, REV. FRIDOLIN, C.S.S.R.**

Father Luetze was born at Murg in Baden, Feb. 17, 1823, joined the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer in Bavaria, where he made his profession Feb. 2, 1844. He was ordained priest March 20, 1847. In May, 1848, he entered upon the American mission. His first station was St. Mary's, Buffalo, N. Y. Thence he was transferred to New York City, in May, 1849. Here he labored for two years, and, in 1851, was sent to the house of studies at Cumberland, Md., to teach Dogmatic Theology and other branches. For some months, in 1853, he was also superior. In the following year we again find him in New York, where he labored both at home and on missions until 1857, when he was transferred to Baltimore. A year later he was sent to Philadelphia, but only for a short time, as in 1859 he went to New Orleans. He remained here ten years, until he was called again to the professor's chair in the newly-founded house of studies at Ilchester, Md., and he again taught Dogmatic Theology for several years. At the division of the American province, in 1875, he was attached to that of St. Louis, and labored in St. Michael's, Chicago, of which he became rector in 1887, holding this position until the time of his death, Sept. 11, 1893.

BAUNACH, REV. PETER, C.SS.R.

Born March 12, 1815, at Helmstadt in Bavaria, and ordained Nov. 9, 1840, Father Baunach became a Redemptorist March 25, 1844. Having come to the United States on Jan. 9, 1849, he labored until 1851 at the church of the Holy Redeemer, New York. He was sent to Pittsburg in 1851 and to Rochester in 1852. He joined the Benedictines in 1857, and became Prior of St. Vincent's Abbey, Pa. There he died, of lung disease, after great sufferings borne with much patience and resignation.

(*Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 3, 1868, p. 5.)

MÜLLER, REV. JOSEPH, C.SS.R.

Father Müller, born at Dinkelsbuehl in Bavaria, Nov. 21, 1809, and educated at Dillingen, was ordained priest July 7, 1835. He labored for some years in his native diocese, but the spiritual destitution of German Catholics in America induced him to devote himself to their welfare. He had been in America but a short time, when he perceived that he could exercise his zeal more effectually as a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. He sought admission and made his profession Aug. 1, 1843. From that date he was indefatigable in discharging the duties of a zealous priest. His first regular field of labor was St. Philomena's Church, Pittsburg. Here he did not confine his work to the parish, but was also most solicitous in searching out destitute Catholics in the surrounding country districts. In 1847, when the superior, Father Neumann (afterwards Bishop of Philadelphia) was transferred to Baltimore, Father Müller took his place, holding this charge until January, 1849, when he was called to New York, as the first canonical rector of the church of the Most Holy Redeemer. During his stay there, for five years, from 1849 to 1854, he not only built the beautiful church in Third Street, but was also instrumental in introducing the Redemptorist Fathers to the English-speaking clergy as missionaries. On account of the great demands made upon the Fathers, both in

attending the sick in the hospitals, and in looking after many country stations in addition to the regular parochial duties, his extraordinary talent as organizer and director proved most valuable. From New York Father Müller was sent to Baltimore, where he had special charge of the parish of St. Michael's, which until 1859 was served from St. Alphonsus'. In November, 1859, he was removed to St. John's, Rochester, but in the following February he was called to Chicago, to take charge of St. Michael's Church, which had been accepted by the superiors of the Congregation. Four years later Father Müller was transferred to St. Mary's, Detroit, Mich., where he remained only until September, 1863, when he was appointed rector of St. Philomena's, Pittsburg, Pa. At the close of his term, in 1866, he was again called to St. Michael's, Baltimore, and, in 1874, he was attached to the community of St. James' in the same city, where, notwithstanding his infirmity, he continued to labor, particularly in the confessional, until his death, Feb. 24, 1876.

(See lengthy notice in *Freeman's Journal*, March 11, 1876.)

KOTTE, REV. ANTHONY.

Father Kotte was born at Rheine in Westphalia, Feb. 12, 1818, made his religious profession Sept. 8, 1846, was ordained April 25, 1849, was dispensed from his vows Nov. 5, 1853.

SCHAEFFLER, REV. ALBERT, C.S.S.R.

Father Schaeffler was born at Thanhausen, in Bavaria, Oct. 8, 1809, was ordained May 28, 1834, and labored in the diocese of Augsburg for about nine years. Coming to America he entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, and made his religious profession May 16, 1844. He labored with great success in the various stations to which he was assigned. As a catechist he could not be surpassed. When a secular priest in Germany he published an explanation of Christian Doctrine for children which appeared, some years ago, in an English translation in the *Homiletic Monthly and Catechist*, published in New York.

After his profession Father Schaeffler labored in Baltimore for some years as superior, at the old St. James' Church, where the Redemptorists had a residence, which was suppressed in 1847. From St. James' he visited the faithful living south-east of that church, in the district forming the present St. Michael's Church. Here he organized a parish-school, previous to the erection of old St. Michael's Church, in 1845. In January, 1847, he was sent to St. Mary's, Elk Co., Pa., where, under the auspices of some Redemptorist Fathers and a secular company, a colony of German Catholics had been commenced. In the following year, 1848, he was called to Pittsburg, and in 1849 to New York. From here he was transferred, in 1851, as superior to St. Mary's, Detroit, and again, in the same capacity, in 1855, to St. Mary's, Buffalo. At his urgent request he was relieved of this charge in the following year, and came to Pittsburg in March. After a stay of eleven months he returned to Buffalo for a few months, before being transferred to St. Joseph's, Rochester, in September, 1857. In November, 1860, we find him again in Detroit, where he remained until April, 1863, when he was attached to the community of St. Michael's, Chicago. In 1867 he came to St. Peter's, Philadelphia, and two years later to St. Alphonsus', Baltimore. As his strength began to fail, the superiors attached him in 1877 to the house of studies at Ilchester and in 1879 to the house of Novitiate at Annapolis, where he filled various domestic charges. But as his physical condition rendered him gradually more and more helpless, he was transferred, in 1884, to St. Michael's, Baltimore, where he closed his days Oct. 12, 1890. At the time of his death he was the oldest member of the Order in the United States. •

DUFFY, REV. JOHN B., C.S.S.R.

Father Duffy was born at Kill in Ireland, Feb. 28, 1826. When still young, he came with his parents to America, and while studying for the priesthood became acquainted with the Redemptorists in Philadelphia. Feeling himself called he

joined the Order; he made his profession on Sept. 24, 1848, and was raised to the priesthood in New York July 20, 1849. For several months after his ordination he remained at New York. Nov. 7, 1849, he was sent to Baltimore, and in April, 1851, to Cumberland. At the latter place he was to teach English, but his fervor made him also learn the German language, in which he began to preach, to the edification of the German faithful. Only few months, however, were allowed to him in this field of labor. As there was at New Orleans a large English-speaking congregation, Father Duffy was called thither by his superiors in July, 1851. New Orleans became, thereafter, the principal theater of his apostolic labors. With the exception of a brief period—from October, 1859, to December, 1860, during which he was stationed at Annapolis, Md., he was attached to the New Orleans community until his death. From 1865 to 1868 he was rector. He built the church of St. Alphonsus there, amid great difficulties and after several failures on the part of others to erect the edifice. By his pure and unselfish life he endeared himself to all who knew him, nor was his zeal less noteworthy. During the yellow fever of 1853, which raged so incessantly from May until August, claiming daily more than two hundred victims, Father Duffy was conspicuous for his untiring devotion to duty, and while ministering to the fever-stricken caught the dread disease. He recovered, however, and, after a life filled with good works, expired at Chatawa, Miss., a country residence of the New Orleans Community, Sept. 8, 1874.

MURPHY, REV. EDWARD.

Father Edward Murphy was assistant to Rev. Richard Klein at St. Bridget's in 1849, and for the next four years served as chaplain at the convent of the Sacred Heart, Manhattanville.

VAN CAMPENHOUT, REV. ISIDORE E., C.S.S.R.

Father Van Campenhout, born April 7, 1824, at Iseghem, Belgium, was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Hughes July 19, 1849. From that year until 1854 he was assistant at the church of the Most Holy Redeemer, when he left the Congregation and became detached from this diocese. As a secular priest, he labored on the mission in Detroit, Mich., Malone, N. Y., and Little Falls, and in each of these places, through untiring efforts, had a parish church built. He was also pastor in Troy, and at Baldwinsville (diocese of Albany), where he departed this life Sept. 26, 1880.

BRIODY, REV. EDWARD S.

In 1849 Father Briody was pastor of Fort Hamilton and Flatbush, L. I., and in the following year attended Wurtsboro and other missions in Ulster County. Pastor of Ellenville and Port Jervis in 1852, Father Briody also looked after the welfare of the Catholics at Bridgeville, Fallsborough, Mongaup Valley, Calicoon, Liberty and seven other stations. Going thence in 1857 to Newburg, he filled the pastorate of St. Patrick's Church, until he was called to Port Jervis, for the second time as its pastor, 1861-63.

He was next stationed with Father Boyce at St. Teresa's, this city, 1864-65, and in May of the latter year promoted to Rondout, succeeding Rev. Felix H. Farrelly, who was transferred to St. James'. Upon the transfer of Rev. E. J. O'Reilly to St. Mary's, Grand Street, in May, 1867, Father Briody succeeded to the pastorate of Newburg, and continued in his new charge for the rest of his days. While at Newburg he was most active in promoting every parish work, enlarging the parish residence, etc.

Father Briody died at St. Francis' Hospital, this city, after a painful illness, on July 22, 1879.

WARD, REV. STEPHEN.

Father Ward was at Madison, N. J., for a short time during 1849, going thence to St. Peter's, this city, and later was pastor

of Goshen, Greenwoods, and the neighboring missions. He also attended Middletown and Port Jervis.

In 1858 he began to build St. Augustine's Church, Morrisania. It was finished and solemnly dedicated Sept. 30, 1860. He remained in charge of this parish until his death, June 22, 1863.

ANDERSON, REV. AUGUSTINE, O.P.

Father Anderson was a convert to the faith. Born in Elizabeth, N. J., he received his education from the Dominicans in Kentucky. He labored zealously in the West and afterwards on the missions along the seaboard. He was stationed at St. Joseph's, near Somerset, Perry Co., Ohio, in 1846. Later, having come to this diocese, he attended Hyde Park and other stations in Sullivan and Ulster counties, in 1849.

In July, 1850, he went to Sacramento, Cal., where he visited the hospitals constantly during the cholera season, and finally fell a victim to the disease himself. He died Nov. 20, 1850.

RAUFEISEN, REV. JOHN.

Father Raufeisen was educated at Fordham, and raised to the priesthood by Bishop Hughes Oct. 3, 1849, in the cathedral, Mott Street. As assistant to Very Rev. J. Raffener, he attended the church of the Holy Trinity, Williamsburg, in 1850. The following year he was pastor of the German church at Ellenville. A good and devout priest, he took care, while pastor of Ellenville, of the spiritual interests of the German Catholics who were scattered over a wide area in that part of the State, attending Rondout, Bridgeville, Calicoon, Fallsburg, Grahamsville, Lackawack, Neversink, Northbranch, Otisville, Stephenson's Factory, Woodburne, Liberty, Forrestburg, Claraville, Monticello, Parksville, etc. From 1862 to 1876 he resided at St. Peter's Church, Rondout, and in the latter year, on account of impaired health, was put on the retired list.

Father Raufeisen finally was removed to St. Francis' Hos-



pital, Jersey City. He had been crippled by rheumatism. In Jersey City he spent the last years of his life, and died there May 10, 1880.

RAFFEINER, REV. JOHN, JR.

Father Raffainer served as assistant to Vicar General Raffainer at the church of the Holy Trinity, Williamsburg, in 1849.

SHERIDAN, REV. STEPHEN.

After finishing his studies at Fordham, Father Sheridan was ordained by Bishop Hughes, June 14, 1849. He was named pastor of Perth Amboy, but on account of his failing health he went to the Savannah diocese, where he lingered for five years, dying at St. Augustine's, Fla., Feb. 15, 1857, aged thirty-two years.

QUINN, REV. THOMAS.

Father Quinn, after completing his course at St. Joseph's Seminary, Fordham, was ordained June 14, 1849. Immediately thereafter he was assigned to assist Rev. Myles Maxwell in Rondout. During the last illness of the latter, he was in charge of the parish until the appointment of Rev. W. Quinn, toward the end of 1849, going thence to St. John's, Paterson, N. J., as assistant. He was made pastor of this church in 1850, and remained there for the next three years, when he was transferred to Rahway. He remained in Rahway for the next twenty years, attending Perth Amboy, Woodbridge, and the surrounding missions.

Father Quinn was a kind-hearted, old-fashioned priest, and most zealous, and during his incumbency as pastor of Rahway built the churches at Rahway, Amboy, and Woodbridge, besides erecting a parochial residence and a school, and purchasing a new cemetery for Rahway. A year or so before his death, Father Quinn became paralyzed, and had to give up active duty, the Rev. Dr. Smith being appointed to assist him.

Father Quinn died Feb. 5, 1873.

## McDONOUGH, REV. JAMES.

Father James McDonough was pastor of St. Bernard's Church, Somerville (Raritan), Somerset Co., N. J., 1851-52, and also of Plainfield, Union Co.

## BLETTNER, REV. JOHN, S.J.

Father Blettner, born at Neukirchen, Lorraine, April 3, 1806, and ordained in September, 1831, entered, fifteen years later, the Society of Jesus for the province of Champagne. As a secular priest he had filled many important offices, having taught in the University of Metz and later served as dean of the cathedral in that diocese. Coming to New York in January, 1849, Father Blettner was assigned to a professorship in the seminary of Fordham, of which he became superior a little later. He remained at Fordham until 1855, during which year he occupied the chair of Moral Philosophy.

As rector of Manresa in 1855, of Fordham for a second period 1865-66, next pastor of St. Michael's and St. Ann's churches, Buffalo, Father Blettner seemed to have a special destiny and fitness for filling the most important positions, and withal was no less the humble missionary. It is characteristic of the man that he devoted the later years of his life to the Indian missions.

Father Blettner died 1882 at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception, Fort William, Ont., in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

## CARROLL, REV. JOHN.

Educated at Fordham, and ordained by Bishop Hughes Dec. 22, 1849, Father John Carroll was for a short while assistant at St. Mary's, but was obliged to relinquish his post on account of weakness caused by slow consumption. He died April 18, 1854, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

## CICATERRI, REV. FELIX, S.J.

Father Cicaterri labored on the mission in New York for about three years. Born at Velletri, July 3, 1804, he entered

the Jesuit novitiate at Rome in 1823. Here he laid the foundation of his reputation as a Latinist and a finished Italian scholar. He was for a time rector of the college at Verona, and on account of his preaching was much in demand. He came to this country in 1848, and for the next three years was stationed in this diocese. In 1851 he was called to Frederick to instruct the Fathers making the third year of novitiate. Five years later he went to Georgetown College as Professor of Philosophy, and thence to the Pacific Coast as Provincial. When his term as superior was ended, he returned to Frederick as director of the Tertiaries, was then transferred to the house of studies in Boston as Spiritual Father, and back again to Frederick to be Master of Novices and instructor of Tertiaries. He remained in Frederick until January, 1873, when he was assigned to the post of Spiritual Father at Woodstock.

Father Cicaterri was a good and holy priest, an able scholar and preacher, who had a rare knowledge of human nature and keen insight into character.

He died at Woodstock July 19, 1873.

McDONNELL, REV. JOHN, S.J.

Born 1814, Father McDonnell became a member of the Jesuit Order for the province of France in 1846. Coming to this country a short while after, he filled the chair of English Literature at Fordham, remaining there from 1849 until his death, Jan. 14, 1852.

GALLAGHER, REV.

Father Gallagher was assistant to Rev. Patrick Duffy at Newburg, and after Father Duffy's death, June 19, 1853, was *locum tenens* until the appointment of Rev. E. J. O'Reilly to the vacancy in the fall of that year.

JOVIN, REV. LOUIS, S.J.

Father Jovin was born June 14, 1818, in Pomerania, where his family, though of French extraction, had for a long time

been settled. Reared a Lutheran, he became a Catholic in Poland when a youth, and on Aug. 20, 1841, was received into the Society of Jesus. He came to America seven years later.

In 1849 Father Jouin was stationed at the school of the Holy Name (the forerunner of St. Francis Xavier's College), then Professor of Classics at St. Francis Xavier's in 1851, and two years later was transferred to Fordham. Here he taught Mathematics during 1853-55, was Prefect of Discipline 1856-57, Professor of Philosophy, 1860, and attached to the seminary at Manresa, Fordham, 1864. From 1867-69 he was assistant pastor of the church in Fordham, and returned the following year to the college staff, remaining as teacher there until 1873. In that year Father Jouin was sent to Guelph, Ont., and from 1876-78 was attached to the Jesuit house in Montreal. Returning to the United States, Father Jouin was successively Professor at St. Francis Xavier's and at St. John's, Fordham, remaining at the latter place until his death June 10, 1899.

Father Jouin was a most holy and learned man, and for many years directed the ecclesiastical conferences held in this diocese. He was the author of text-books in philosophy.

#### BRETSCHKA, REV. FELIX.

Father Bretschka was born at Rvzinka in Moravia, Feb. 5, 1817, took his vows Dec. 28, 1842, was ordained July 27, 1845, and came to America March 24, 1848. He was first sent to St. Mary's colony in Elk County, Pa., and when in December, 1849, the Fathers left that place he was attached to the community in New York, where he remained until April, 1851, when he was appointed superior of St. Joseph's, Rochester. This position he held until December, 1855. Two years later he returned to his native country.

#### MADDEN, REV. MICHAEL A.

Born in 1826 and educated at Fordham, Father Madden was ordained by Bishop Hughes May 25, 1850. He was stationed as assistant at St. Peter's, 1850-51, going thence as pastor to Perth and South Amboy, N. J. He was later ap-

pointed pastor of Madison, of which he had charge up to the time of his death in 1868.

Father Madden was much beloved by his people as well as by his fellow-priests. Bishop Bayley intended to name him as Vicar General of the diocese, when Father Madden was cut off suddenly in the flower of his age. He died in Newark, of apoplexy, May 17, 1868, and was buried from his parish church at Madison.

PRESTON, RIGHT REV. MGR. THOMAS S., V.G.

Mgr. Preston was born in Hartford, Conn., June 23, 1824. Reared a Protestant, he made his classical studies at Trinity College, Hartford, from which he was graduated in 1843, and then entered the General Theological Seminary, New York, receiving ordination as minister in the Protestant Episcopal church three years later. In 1849 he became a Catholic and was received into the Church by Bishop Bayley. After a short stay at Fordham seminary, Mgr. Preston was raised to the priesthood Nov. 16, 1850, by Cardinal McCloskey (then Bishop of Albany).

Father Preston's first appointment was to the post of assistant at the cathedral, whence he was sent as pastor successively to Yonkers, Hastings, and St. Teresa's, Tarrytown. In 1853 he was appointed secretary to Archbishop Hughes, succeeding Bishop Bayley. Two years later he became Chancellor of the diocese. This office he filled for many years, to the satisfaction of three successive Archbishops. He continued his ministry at the cathedral until 1861, when he was made pastor of St. Ann's Church, this city, where he built a new church and school. In 1873, he was appointed Vicar General of the diocese, receiving the dignity of Domestic Prelate in 1882, and that of Prothonotary Apostolic in 1888.

Father Preston was a most devoted priest, an energetic pastor, and the writer of several volumes of lectures on devotional subjects. He died at St. Ann's Rectory, November 4, 1891. At the obsequies Archbishop Corrigan officiated, and Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia preached the funeral dis-

course. His remains were placed in a vault under the old cathedral (now St. Patrick's Church), but were transferred in November, 1897, to the mausoleum in the chapel of the Sisters of the Divine Compassion at White Plains, N. Y., of which Order he was the founder.

O'NEILL, REV. HENRY.

Ordained by Bishop Hughes Dec. 22, 1849, after completion of his course at Fordham, Father O'Neill was for the following two years assistant at the church of the Transfiguration, but later became attached to the diocese of Albany, laboring on the missions there.

FORBES, REV. JOHN MURRAY.

Father Forbes was an Episcopalian minister, who after his conversion to the Catholic faith studied at Fordham and on Nov. 16, 1850, on the same day with Mgr. Preston, received Holy Orders from Bishop McCloskey. In 1851, Father Forbes went to the Nativity parish as assistant, remaining there until June, 1852. From that date, he was rector of St. Ann's until 1859, when he left the Catholic Church.

RULAND, VERY REV. GEORGE J., C.S.S.R.

Father Ruland was born at Egleshöf, in the diocese of Ratisbon, Bavaria, Dec. 9, 1817. In the fall of 1828 he began his classical studies at Würzburg, continued them from 1829 to 1835 at Munich, where he commenced his higher course at the University. In 1840 having finished his studies with great distinction, he received Holy Orders, and on July 22 of that year was ordained priest. Up to November, 1843, he served as assistant in two small country parishes. Then he was promoted to the position of first assistant and preacher in Amberg. On account of the high esteem in which he was held by his superiors, he was, in December 1845, appointed con-

fessor of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. In 1846 Father Ruland applied for admission into the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, wishing at the same time to consecrate himself to the American mission. His request granted, he made his religious profession at Altötting, May 26, 1847, and a year later he came to America. He was first attached to the Baltimore community, but in June, 1850, was sent to New York, where he labored principally in the little St. Alphonsus' Church, in Thompson Street, which was then served from Third Street. In 1852 Father Neumann, the rector of St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, was called to the episcopal see of Philadelphia and Father Ruland was appointed rector in Baltimore. He remained in that position until 1854, when he was appointed Provincial of the American province. He held that office until March, 1859. From that time until 1862 he was rector at St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, and from 1862 to 1865 remained there as minister. He was appointed rector of St. Joseph's, Rochester, N. Y., from 1869 until 1874, when he was transferred to Ilchester, the house of studies. For eleven years he was the soul of that important institution, when, on Nov. 20, 1885, an apoplectic stroke ended his useful career. He died Nov. 21, at the sound of the Angelus bell. Father Ruland was, deservedly, the oracle not only of his confreres, but also of many priests and bishops who were eager to consult him on difficult questions. He had been a fellow-student and intimate friend of the late Archbishop Michael Heiss of Milwaukee, and under the latter's encouragement labored for years on an extensive work, entitled "*Summarium Doctrinæ Christianæ*." This monumental work, however, owing to his sudden death and other circumstances, has not yet been published. Father Ruland joined profound learning to the profoundest humility, and as a religious superior he knew how to unite unbounded charity with the strictest exactness of religious discipline. Hence his name is held in benediction among the Redemptorist Fathers.

## McMAHON, REV. JOHN.

In 1850, Father McMahon was assistant at the cathedral. He was transferred the following year to the pastorate of St. Michael's Church, Flushing. He had charge of the parishes of Yonkers and Hastings in 1853.

## McCARTHY, REV. PATRICK.

After finishing his course of theology at Fordham, Father McCarthy was ordained by Bishop Hughes Dec. 22, 1849, and then went to Perth Amboy as pastor. In 1851-52 he attended Rahway, and upon the erection of the See of Newark was transferred to New York, as assistant to Father Quinn at St. Peter's, where he continued until 1855. On November 9th of that year, Father McCarthy was named rector of the church of the Holy Cross, and remained in charge of that parish until his death, Aug. 7, 1877.

Father McCarthy was a very genial and charitable man, and a devoted priest, and upon accepting the pastorate of Holy Cross at once applied himself to bettering the condition of that parish. He rebuilt the church on a larger scale. This work required three years for its completion. The new edifice was dedicated May 7, 1870. He had a fine voice, and sang the Mass in such a way as to delight and edify the faithful.

(See obituary in *Catholic Review*, Aug. 18, 1877, p. 100.)

## SWEENEY, REV. HUGH.

Father Sweeney was ordained by Bishop Hughes May 25, 1850, after completing his theological studies at Fordham. From his ordination until Jan. 28, 1855, he was stationed at Mount St. Vincent's as chaplain. For a time he also attended the city institutions on Ward's Island. Becoming insane, Father Sweeney was removed to Mount Hope, Baltimore, where, in 1885, he has remained for thirty years.

## VIEIRZ, REV. P. J.

Father Vieirz was assistant to Rev. D. W. Baccio at the church of the Assumption, Brooklyn, 1850-52.



McLAUGHLIN, REV. PETER.

As assistant, Father McLaughlin served at St. Bridget's Church, this city, in 1849, and the following year was made pastor of St. John's, Twenty-first Street and Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, attending also the church at Fort Hamilton, 1850-52. In 1851, he made his residence at Fort Hamilton.

MUGAN, REV. DANIEL.

A native of Cloukeen, County Mayo, Ireland, Father Mugan received his early education at St. Jarlath's College, Tuam. Coming to this country in 1846, he proceeded at once to Mount St. Mary's, Emmittsburg, where he remained for four years. Having been sent to Fordham to prepare for ordination, he was raised to the priesthood in the old cathedral, Aug. 1, 1851, by Archbishop Hughes, and at once assigned as assistant to Father Quinn at St. Peter's, Barclay Street. He remained at St. Peter's for two years. Thence he went, in 1853, as pastor to Ellenville and the neighboring missions in Ulster County. In this work he continued until his death, at Ellenville, Sept. 8, 1872.

Father Mugan was an active and zealous priest, and during his pastorate there built the large church at Monticello and the one at Liberty, besides purchasing land for a cemetery at the former place. His labors told on him, and for two months before his death he suffered a most painful illness. In his last moments he was attended by his neighbor, the German priest of Ellenville, Father Constantine Van Drost. According to his own wish, his remains are buried in Calvary Cemetery.

BROPHY, REV. GEORGE R.

Father Brophy was pastor of Channingsville (now Wappinger's Falls), from 1850 to 1853, attending also Fishkill and the neighboring missions. In 1853 he was made rector of St. Paul's Church, Harlem, continuing in that charge until 1866, when he was succeeded by Rev. Eugene Maguire. In September of that year, he asked and obtained permission to

give up active work on account of the infirmities consequent upon old age. The *Freeman's Journal* of Sept. 1, 1866, alluding to his resignation, states: ". . . He proposes to return to Ireland to end his days in his native home." Whether or not Father Brophy did go back to Ireland, is not certain. At any rate he was afterwards located in Dubuque, and died at a ripe old age on Oct. 16, 1880, in Mercy Hospital, Davenport, Iowa.

GILLESPIE, REV. FRANCIS.

Father Gillespie labored for a time in this diocese, but later on went to California, and died there, at Jamestown, Sept. 1, 1853.

McLOUGHLIN, REV. THOMAS.

Father McLoughlin was born at Shanless Ardee, County Louth, Ireland, Nov. 21, 1826. He received his early education in the national schools and finished his classics at the college in Navan. After coming to this country he entered the seminary at Fordham, and received ordination from Archbishop Hughes Aug. 1, 1851. His first assignment was St. Joseph's, New York, as assistant, from 1851 to 1852. His next appointment was to the pastorate of New Rochelle and its mission, Port Chester, where he continued for the next fifty years.

He died suddenly in the sacristy of the church at New Rochelle, Dec. 9, 1902, and his funeral took place three days later, Archbishop Farley being celebrant of the Mass, and the preacher Rev. Isidore Meister of Mamaroneck. Father McLoughlin is buried alongside the east wall of the church of which he has been pastor for more than half his life.

BIENVENU, REV. HIPPOLYTE, S.J.

Father Bienvenu was attached to the school of the Holy Name in 1849. On Sundays he attended Hastings and Tarrytown, until 1851.

In 1851, Father Bienvenu was Professor of Greek and Belles Lettres at Fordham.

## MAGINN, REV. BERNARD.

Father Bernard Maginn was pastor of Holy Cross Church, Flatbush, in 1851.

## CASSIDY, REV. EUGENE.

Father Cassidy was a native of County Tyrone, Ireland. After finishing at Fordham, he was ordained by Bishop Hughes July 19, 1851, and for a short time thereafter was at St. James', as assistant to Rev. P. McKenna. The rest of Father Cassidy's ministry was spent in South Brooklyn.

He was a kind-hearted and earnest priest, and his zeal for souls was especially shown by the intrepidity with which he faced the dangers of the cholera. He was particularly devoted to the work of the parish schools, and both by word and example accomplished an untold amount of good among his people.

Father Cassidy departed this life Dec. 1, 1876.

## POZZO, REV. HYACINTH, O.P.

Of Italian birth, Father Pozzo on coming to this country served as sub-prior of St. Joseph's Convent, Perry County, in 1846-47, and three years later was in this diocese, attending Staatsburg, Dutchess Co., Peekskill, etc. For a short period in 1852, Father Pozzo was with Father McAleer at St. Columba's, this city.

## DANTNER, REV. AUGUSTINE.

Father Dantner was born Jan. 27, 1806, and received ordination Jan. 27, 1829. In 1851, he was assistant to Father Ambrose Buchmeyer at St. Nicholas', and the following year went to St. Francis' Church, West Thirty-first Street. In 1853 he assumed the pastorate of St. John Baptist's Church, West Thirtieth Street. Here he struggled on, amidst endless difficulties, until 1870, when he was forced to withdraw. The church remained closed for many months, and there was every prospect that it would fall from decay or be sold for debt, when the Cardinal Archbishop induced the Capuchins to take charge of it. (Shea's *Churches*, pp. 416, seq.)

After relinquishing the pastorate of St. John's, Father Dantner was stationed at St. Stephen's with Dr. McGlynn until 1872.

LEIMGRUBER, REV. MAXIMUS, C.SS.R.

Father Leimgruber was born at Ochsenhausen in Wuerttemberg, April 9, 1820. He entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, made his novitiate at Bischemberg in Alsace, pronounced his vows Nov. 16, 1840; on Aug. 24, 1844, he was ordained priest. In 1847 he came to America, arriving in New York March 10. For a short time he was attached to the community in Baltimore. In September of the same year he was sent to St. Mary's, Detroit, where but one Father had been stationed up to that time. He labored most assiduously at Detroit until May, 1851, when he was transferred to New York. Declining health, however, induced his superiors to change him to Rochester, in September, 1852. Here he was charged with the spiritual direction of some clerics who were about to finish their course of theology. Having proved a model religious and a wise director of souls, he was soon sought out as superior. He filled in turn the following offices: 1854, Rector of St. Philomena's, Pittsburg; 1855 superior and Master of Novices at Annapolis; 1857 rector of St. Alphonsus', Baltimore; 1859 superior of St. Joseph's, Rochester; January, 1861, rector in New Orleans; 1865, rector in New York; 1871, July, rector of St. Michael's, Baltimore, and Consultor of the Provincial; 1873, at St. Alphonsus', in the same city; 1874, rector in New Orleans. At the time of the division of the American province, Father Leimgruber remained ascribed to the province of St. Louis, and rector of the New Orleans community until 1877. For six more years he stayed at New Orleans, and was thence transferred to Chicago, in March, 1883. When the second Redemptorist community, of the new St. Alphonsus' Church, was organized in Chicago, in 1885, he was appointed superior pro tem. In June, 1887, he returned to St. Michael's, but in 1890 he was again attached to the com-

munity of St. Alphonsus', where he died the death of the just, April 18, 1892.

SCOLLARD, REV. JOHN.

Father Scollard attended the missions in Mercer County, from Freehold, N. J., in 1850. Before the formation of the diocese of Newark, he was rector of St. Paul's Church, Princeton, N. J., where he remained until July, 1857. In the same year he severed his connection with the diocese.

RAMSAUER, REV. MAURUS.

Father Ramsauer was a member of the Benedictine Order, but was secularized. He was then appointed pastor of Manlius and Schenectady, N. Y. In 1850, he was at Williamsburg as assistant to Very Rev. J. Raffeiner. The *Catholic Almanac* for 1852 (page 206) mentions him as succeeding Father Raffeiner as pastor of the church of the Holy Trinity, 1851-52. This is evidently a mistake, since in the same issue of the *Almanac* (page 207) Father Raffeiner is named as rector of that church with Rev. Frederick Young as assistant.

MULRINE, REV. THOMAS.

Father Mulrine was born in this city in 1825. After studying theology at Emmittsburg and Fordham, he was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, Aug. 1, 1851. Immediately after ordination he was assigned to the cathedral as assistant, where he remained until his death, Feb. 25, 1853.

COMERFORD, REV. JOHN R.

Father Comerford was ordained by Cardinal McCloskey, then Bishop of Albany, on Nov. 16, 1850, after completing the prescribed course at Fordham. Father Comerford's first appointment was as assistant at the cathedral in 1851. In the same year he was at St. Peter's, and in 1852 was transferred to the pastorate of Cold Spring, succeeding Dr. Vilanis. He remained at Cold Spring until replaced by Rev. Thomas Joyce.

## HECKER, VERY REV. ISAAC THOMAS, C.S.P.

Father Hecker was born in the city of New York Dec. 18, 1819. In 1843, he became a member of the celebrated Brook Farm Community, but shortly after severed his connection with the colony. In 1845 he was received into the Church by Cardinal McCloskey, then Coadjutor-Bishop. In 1847, he joined the Redemptorists, and went to St. Irond, Belgium, to make his novitiate. Two years later, he was sent by his superiors to England, where he was ordained Oct. 23, 1847, by Cardinal Wiseman.

After another two years, spent on the mission in England, Father Hecker returned to the United States and was stationed at the church of the Most Holy Redeemer, with Father Müller, from 1851 until 1857. That his labors might be made more fruitful and useful to the English-speaking population of this country, Father Hecker obtained permission from the Holy See to leave the Redemptorists and to found the Congregation of St. Paul. The members of the new congregation established themselves in Fifty-ninth Street and Ninth Avenue, placing the new parish under the invocation of St. Paul the Apostle, and at St. Paul's Father Hecker remained from 1857 until his death on Dec. 24, 1881.

## BEGOULE, REV. PETER A.

Father Begoule was at the French church in Canal Street as assistant of Father Lafont in 1851.

## KAGER, REV. FRANCIS.

Father Kager was assistant to Rev. Alexander Martin, O.S.F., at St. Francis' Church, West Thirty-first Street, in 1851.

## VENUTA, REV. ALOYSIUS.

Born Jan. 3, 1823, in Nicosia, Sicily, Father Venuta entered the seminary at Palermo, and was ordained for his native diocese. He became a Professor in the University of Palermo, and a member of the Chamber of Deputies. On account of

the troubles of 1848 he was forced to leave his native country. He left Italy June 10, 1850, to reside permanently in the United States.

After spending three years with Father Sylvester in Brooklyn, he became assistant at the cathedral, Newark. He was later assigned successively to Paterson and Hoboken, and afterwards became pastor of Hudson City. In Hudson City he first built a brick church, which he replaced later by the present magnificent stone edifice, in honor of St. Joseph. He also erected the substantial school buildings and the pastoral residence. He died Jan. 22, 1876, aged fifty-three years. Father Venuta was a very learned and pious priest. He lived a most austere life, wearing a metal girdle, and performing other acts of penance. When scarcely able to move he would still drag himself to the altar to spend an hour in adoration before the Blessed Sacrament.

#### REGAN, REV. JOHN.

Father Regan studied at Fordham, and was raised to the priesthood Nov. 16, 1850. From this time until his death two years later, Father Regan was assistant pastor of St. Paul's Church, Brooklyn. During his ministrations to the sick he fell a victim to the ship fever, and died Dec. 10, 1852, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

#### HOGAN, REV. JOHN.

Born in 1815 at St. John's, Newfoundland, Father Hogan when very young went to England, and while there studied at Stonyhurst. After finishing at Stonyhurst, he returned to Canada for his theological studies, and, coming to the United States, was appointed assistant at St. Patrick's Church, Newark, where he remained during 1851-52. On October 9th of the following year, he was made rector of St. Peter's Church, Belleville, and continued in this charge until his death fourteen years later. The period of his pastorate was marked by the promotion of every parochial good work; he had the church

edifice entirely renovated, and the parish grew so large and flourishing that it was deemed expedient to divide it. Father Hogan was a good and faithful priest, a wise pastor, and a gentleman of much suavity and dignity of manner.

He died Oct. 25, 1867.

O'DONOVAN, REV. MICHAEL.

Father Michael O'Donovan was born in Ireland in 1817. From 1851, he was pastor at Goshen, Green Woods, Middletown, and Port Jervis, and died at Goshen May 24, 1856, after a very short illness. Father O'Donovan was the second resident pastor in charge of Goshen; the first was Father S. Ward, who built the old part of the present church, then came Father O'Donovan, and then successively Father O'Callaghan, Father O'Hare, and Father Keogan (1881).



## JOHN JAMES MAXIMILIAN OERTEL.

BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

THE most prominent German Catholic in the Eastern States during the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century was the editor of the *Kirchenzeitung*, Maximilian Oertel. He was a convert, a jovial, good-natured man, whose vigorous controversies with the non-Catholic German journalists of the time seem to have made him no less popular, for they were always ready to give a warm greeting to Pater Oertel. Oertel's career was in other respects characteristic, and his memory deserves to be preserved.

John James Maximilian Oertel was a Bavarian. The son of a college professor at Ansbach in Middle Franconia, he was born on April 27, 1811. At the proper age the boy was sent to the high school of his native town and on the successful conclusion of his college studies in 1829 resolved to become a clergyman. Oertel's father was a Lutheran, and accordingly the young man betook himself to the Lutheran University of Erlangen in his native state. There he studied theology for five years, and after passing the required examinations was ordained an Evangelical Lutheran minister. After his ordination he was invited by the Lutheran missionary society of Barmen in Prussia to preach the Gospel among his countrymen in the United States of America. The United States about this time began to attract the attention of emigrants in the Fatherland and a stream of Germans desirous of bettering their fortunes began to flow toward the New World. The Rev. Mr. Oertel, as we infer from the statement read on the occasion of his reception into the Church and published in New York, March 25, 1840, held very orthodox views and belonged to the old school. Next to the Bible he looked to the Church Fathers for guidance, and among these he had studied especially St.

Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine. Besides these older Church Fathers, the young theologian had been attracted by the writings of St. Bernard and those of the German mystic, John Tauler. His fondness for the last two writers indicate strong sympathies with the Church of the Middle Ages, and probably also with the romantic literary movement then at its height in Germany.

The Rev. Mr. Oertel accepted the invitation of the Barmen society, and in 1837 bade farewell to his native country, which he never revisited. He reached New York in October, 1837, where he began his clerical labors. But the Lutheran people of the metropolis were of a type uncongenial to the young preacher. Their religious views seemed to him far from orthodox—in fact revolutionary. The laity and the clergy equally dissatisfied him. They observed no standard of orthodoxy, and probably had none. Each one believed and practised as he thought fit. The young minister found no more consolation from the clergymen of other denominations than from those of his own. At last, after preaching in New York for a year and a half, he turned his back upon the city in utter disgust. His footsteps were directed toward Missouri (spring, 1839), which had shortly before become the promised land of many recent Lutheran immigrants, at whose head were six pastors and a bishop, Stephan by name. Here, if anywhere, Oertel expected to find rest and a congenial field of pastoral labor. But alas, for the disappointment of human hopes! The Lutherans of Missouri came no nearer to Oertel's ideals than the Lutherans of New York; dissension was as rife there as in the East, and to fill his cup of sorrow the men whom he had expected to become his guides and teachers proved to be wolves in sheep's clothing. Bishop Stephan was impeached by his own people, tried by a competent tribunal, and found guilty both of heresy and immorality. What could the young clergyman do in the face of such horrors? After a very short stay, he left Missouri in utter despair, and returned to New York.

When he found himself once more on the banks of the Hudson, he resumed his work as a Lutheran preacher, but his soul



JOHN JAMES MAXIMILIAN OERTEL.



was disturbed and his peace of mind gone. The manifold divisions to be found not only among the various Protestant denominations, but even among the Lutherans themselves, shook his faith in their divine origin. The Church of Christ must be one, and unity was lacking in the Church of Luther. He began to be assailed by doubts, and was fast hastening toward infidelity when he became acquainted, probably late in 1839, with the pastor of St. Mary's, the Rev. William Quarter, afterwards the first Bishop of Chicago. Mr. Oertel, in his pamphlet spoken of above, given us the impression that Father Quarter was the first Catholic clergyman with whom he came in contact. If this is so, it is certainly surprising, for in 1839 there were several German Catholic priests in New York and its vicinity. However this may be, Mr. Oertel's acquaintance with the Catholic priest decided his future religious life. He determined to become a Catholic, and lost no time. On the second Sunday of Lent in the year 1840, he made his profession of faith and was received into the Catholic Church. It is noteworthy that on the same day Father Quarter read to his congregation a statement of the ex-Lutheran clergyman, giving a brief abstract of the reasons which led him to embrace Catholicism. This statement, at the suggestion of his friends, he published under date of March 25, 1840, and is the pamphlet mentioned.

The reasons set forth are based upon the presence of the four essential marks of Christ's Church; unity, sanctity, catholicity and apostolicity in the Roman Catholic Church. To these he adds as a fifth mark its visibility. In the course of the argument he adduces many biblical citations, as might be expected from a Lutheran minister. The paper is free from abuse and well-written; indeed it is clear that it must have been corrected for him by an excellent English scholar, for it is written in a flowing English style, free from German idioms, though Oertel had been in the United States only a little more than two years and a half at the time of its publication.

These two years and a half had been busy years for Mr. Oertel, for besides his preaching, his travels, and his religious

investigations, he had found time to woo and win a wife. This lady was Miss Mary Greenfield of Lyme, in the State of Connecticut, where he married her on July 18, 1838, eight months after his arrival in New York. She proved a true and affectionate wife, who survived her husband many years, and died on April 20, 1905, aged ninety years and four months. They had but one child, Miss Agnes Oertel, who is still living.

We cannot help admiring Mr. Oertel's courage in taking the fateful step of becoming a Catholic. He was still a stranger in the country, recently married, with all the responsibilities of a newly-founded family, and without the means of earning a livelihood for himself and those dependent on him, since he had given up his charge in the Lutheran Church. What was he to do? He first took to teaching. Probably he owed to Father Quarter's efforts his appointment to the chair of German at St. John's College which had been founded at Fordham a short time before. How long he held this professorship we have not succeeded in ascertaining. So much seems sure, however, that Oertel had not the temperament of a successful pedagogue. When, therefore, he was offered the editorship of the *Wahrheitsfreund*, a Catholic weekly just established at Cincinnati, he resigned his chair without hesitancy and betook himself to Ohio. The *Wahrheitsfreund* is the oldest Catholic German paper in the United States, and is still in existence. Of his work in Cincinnati we have no accounts, and we have not the files of the *Wahrheitsfreund* at our disposal. Oertel did not long find his position in Cincinnati to his taste, for in 1846 we find him once more in the East, this time in Baltimore.

Meanwhile Oertel had evidently extended his acquaintance among the Germans, both clergy and laity. In Baltimore there were several strong German congregations under the pastoral care of the Redemptorist Fathers. These gentlemen seemed to have interested themselves in the German convert, and to have aided him in founding, in 1846, the weekly *Kirchenzeitung*, the editorship of which was destined to be his lifework. Among the Redemptorist Fathers who are credited with assisting Oertel at this time, is Father Stelzig. For five years Oertel

continued to reside in Baltimore, busily engaged in his editorial duties. In 1851, however, he removed his paper to the city of New York and there he remained until his death. The present writer well remembers that in the fifties and the early sixties it was regarded almost as a duty of German Catholics to subscribe to the *Kirchenzeitung*, and to read its editorials. So far as he remembers, the *Kirchenzeitung* could hardly be called a newspaper, because its contents consisted mainly of essays, discussions, polemics, and the like. A feature which was especially characteristic of the paper was the *Plauderstübchen*, a chatty column, in dialogue form, which treated of pretty much anything and everything, from the deepest theology to culinary science. When, in 1869, Oertel resolved to publish a book, its contents mainly consisted of extracts from these columns of chat. The volume was called *Altes and Neues*, and is now very rare, almost as rare as the pamphlet he published in 1840. The attacks on Catholicism fashionable at that time in the German daily press also furnished matter for numerous articles in the *Kirchenzeitung*. The doughty editor of the *Kirchenzeitung* was ever ready to break a lance with these perverters of the people, though socially he had no objection to drinking a glass of beer with them. They were not at all times properly grateful to Pater Oertel for the care he took of their souls, but, withal, the Pater was not unpopular among them.

While Mr. Oertel was thus vigorously championing religion and the Church, and while his earnestness in the cause he defended was proven week after week, it is certain that the editor was not accumulating a fortune. It is possible that, like many other literary men, Mr. Oertel was more of a writer than a man of business. At all events, about the year 1865, the business side of the *Kirchenzeitung* passed into the hands of the well-known publishing firm of Benziger Brothers, Mr. Oertel retaining the editor's chair. The new arrangement, however, did not suit the veteran journalist very long, for only four years later (1869) Oertel again became sole owner of the *Kirchenzeitung*. Perhaps the paper did not flourish as much as

before, for times came when other Catholic German journals, even a German daily, sprang up in New York, and put an end to the monopoly which the *Kirchenzeitung* had held. But Maximilian Oertel had still many friends among the old denizens of Catholic New York. The *Kirchenzeitung* outlived more than one of its rivals, and if, as the years progressed, age also appeared to settle upon the oldest Catholic German journal in the United States, there were still enough of Oertel's old friends to support the *Kirchenzeitung* to the last. If Mr. Oertel had his troubles, he also had his consolations. He was the center of a large circle of friends, and gradually became a landmark in Catholic New York. In the year 1875 his services to Catholicism were recognized at Rome, for Pope Pius IX. conferred on the veteran editor the cross of St. Gregory, the Great, an honor which he did not fail to appreciate most warmly.

Meanwhile time sped on and Maximilian Oertel had passed the traditional threescore and ten. His hair became bleached and his strength enfeebled, but the sturdy old veteran stood at his post until he was called away by the great Master of life. He died on August 21, 1882, at Jamaica, Long Island, which had been his residence for some time before his death. There, in St. Monica's cemetery, he rests from his toil. Hundreds of laymen and priests attended his obsequies and mourned over the death of one who had always been a jovial friend, an upright man, and a vigorous champion of Catholic truth.



## CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND THE REVIVALS OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE.

BY PETER CONDON.

### III.

IN preceding numbers of *Historical Records and Studies* we attempted to show the state of religious sentiment in this country both prior to and immediately following the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Notwithstanding that the fundamental law had enunciated the principle of freedom of religion and had prohibited the establishment of any religion by the Federal Government, it soon became evident that there was a considerable body of citizens of the different States who were reluctant to accept this principle, and the process of separating Church and State, and of relieving Catholics from the civil disabilities under which they had rested from Colonial times was a slow one. The efforts made to secure these results by appropriate legislation disclosed the existence of a strong anti-Catholic sentiment entertained by the members of the old Federalist party as well as by the New England Puritans. As the number of Catholics and of their clergy increased, and churches and other religious institutions came to be established, this anti-Catholic sentiment during the first quarter of the nineteenth century manifested itself so frequently and in such a variety of forms as to indicate that actual freedom of religion would not be conceded to Catholics without a severe struggle. Such a spirit of religious intolerance was not only at variance with the law of the land guaranteeing religious freedom to all the inhabitants, but was unprovoked by any act on the part of Catholics, who were then a helpless minority in the population. That hostility could be ascribed only to the religious prejudice of which they had for so long been the victims, and this pre-

judice was accentuated by knowledge of the fact that the despised and persecuted Catholics had now the legal right to participate in the affairs of government equally with their former oppressors. In our previous narrative we traced the development of this spirit of intolerance down to the early 30's, when it gave such a startling exhibition of its character in the destruction of the Ursuline convent at Charlestown. Before entering on the history of that event we think it useful to exhibit somewhat in detail the conditions which were existing at that time.

#### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN 1830.

That decade (1830-40) had opened with many changes in progress in political as well as in social and commercial life, and many innovations had been made both in our own country and in Great Britain. Abroad, during the preceding year, O'Connell had won "Catholic emancipation," and Catholics for the first time since the Reformation were permitted to sit in Parliament. All the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiment of the kingdom—all the land-owning interests—had been rallied to the side of the Government in its opposition to the measure. The Duke of Wellington, the then Prime Minister, and Sir Robert Peel, his Secretary for Ireland, had already suppressed the Catholic Association organized by O'Connell to carry on the agitation for the relief of Catholics, and the "Iron Duke" yielded to the superior influence of the great agitator only when it became evident that further opposition would be useless. The victory was celebrated in America as well as in Ireland, and Masses of thanksgiving were publicly said in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities. At the Mass in St. Augustine's Church in Philadelphia, Father John (afterwards Archbishop) Hughes delivered the discourse which, later on, was published with a dedication to O'Connell,\* and the bell in the old State House as well as the bells of Christ's Church (Protestant Episcopal) were rung "in testimony of joy at the

\* Hassard, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, p. 92.

recent triumph of religious liberty in England.\* Banquets were given and public meetings held, and in these and other ways the Irish in America manifested their delight at O'Connell's success.

On the other hand the rejoicing moved the *Episcopalian Church Register* to say, "We shall be sorry for this measure if the revival and dissemination of the trumperies and delusions of Popery are to be the result of it."† This, with other equally uncalled-for attacks, led to an exchange of newspaper articles between Father Hughes and the clerical editors of that paper—being, perhaps, the earliest of the many religious controversies in which that distinguished prelate stood forth. as the champion of Catholicity.

At the same time that Catholic emancipation was being debated, another agitation was in progress in England over the Parliamentary Reform Act, whose aim was to wipe out the "pocket boroughs" of the English aristocracy, and to extend the electoral privileges to the mass of the people, including Catholics. Several ministries rose and fell as the result of this agitation, and the political excitement attending it did not subside until the passing of the Act in 1832.

In Ireland the cruel servitude in which the great body of the Catholic peasantry were compelled to live—the inhuman conditions under which they had to labor to maintain an existence, their religion proscribed, their race hated, they, themselves, regarded as little better than barbarians by the handful of English and Scottish Protestants who legislated for them—all these causes concurred to drive them from their homes, and they had sought America as their refuge and the place where they might enjoy both religious and political liberty. The proscription maintained against them by Act of Parliament was aggravated by the illegal persecution carried on by the Orange lodges whose undisguised purpose was the extermination of "Popery." The methods and practises of this society were imitated in many respects by their sympathizers in this country.

\* Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, p. 624.

† Hassard, *Life of Hughes*, p. 92.

Their oath-bound secrecy, their mouthings against the "encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church," their insincere profession of solicitude for the maintenance of the government—these, with other features of the various Native American movements were plainly adopted from the Orange ritual for use in this country. In both organizations the real object was, first, the extermination of Catholicity, and next, to retain or secure control of the Government through the political activities of the members, exerted secretly and in blind obedience to the wishes of the leaders.

This twofold purpose may be plainly traced in every religious or political movement affecting Catholics and immigrants attempted in this country from the days of the Federalists to the time when the Know-Nothing leaders deluded themselves with the thought that their dark-lantern followers were numerous enough and their principles, or rather prejudices, attractive enough to win the support of the American people in a national campaign. Every anti-Catholic manifesto at any time issued in the history of the movement in this country has been framed to work upon the ignorance and prejudice of the masses by advocating (1) the duty of all good Americans to preserve their country, its government and liberties against all enemies (a proposition entirely commendable), and (2) by coupling with this the calumnious statements that American independence was in imminent danger of being annihilated by the machinations of the Pope, the Jesuits, the "Romish" priesthood, and the advent of foreigners who yielded a blind obedience to the Pope, and that all Catholics were in a conspiracy to subvert the Government. From these premises it was easy to argue the right and duty of American citizens to exclude foreigners and particularly Catholics from public office, to practically deny them citizenship, and to ostracize them socially and politically, so that while they could not be prevented from coming here or remaining in the country, yet their influence for harm would be reduced to the lowest degree possible.

Every form of activity in the Orange movement had its counterpart in the several Native American and Know-Noth-

ing movements which have taken place in this country. In his *History of Orangeism*, Rev. H. W. Cleary says (p. 362), "The period of most feverish and seditious activity in the history of the Orange organization extended from about 1828 to 1835," and, as we shall see, there was a corresponding intensity of anti-Catholic sentiment and persecution in this country at the same time.

The exodus from Europe had been going on during the preceding decade, the number of immigrants increasing every year. According to our official statistics it would appear that during the period from 1825 to 1830, 90,000 immigrants were landed in this country, the larger number of these arriving at New York and Boston. During the next five years the number had risen to 230,442, while from 1835 to 1840 it increased to 307,939. The greater part of these were Irish exiles. They had come here as to a land where they would be free to practise the faith for which they and their forefathers had suffered so grievously at the hands of the persecuting English, and where their willing hands and stout arms, employed in useful labor, would bring the due recompense of a comfortable home and living for themselves and their families. Their brethren in the Continental army and navy had done valiant service in the cause of liberty, and except for the aid of their co-religionists, our French allies, the struggle of the American Colonists could scarcely have been successful. American independence being won, the new-born nation had invited the oppressed of all the older nations to its shores, to enjoy that freedom and rational liberty of which they were elsewhere deprived, and it had especially guaranteed them against religious proscription.

The newcomers who expected to find complete liberty in the practise of their religion were at once antagonized by the Federalists and those who shared their religious prejudices; and no other explanation is needed of the fact that the immigrants have habitually cast their lot, politically speaking, with the party which favored their speedy naturalization as citizens, and their admission to all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

In America at this time (1830) Andrew Jackson was Chief Executive. He had been triumphantly elected in 1828 over John Quincy Adams, whose affiliations were with the Federalists. These, as we have previously pointed out, from the point of view of their own political interest as well as from inherited prejudice, were opposed to the policy of admitting foreigners as citizens, and in various ways showed their antipathy to the religion professed by the majority of the foreigners who were arriving. Shea speaks of "the bitter and violent denunciation of the Catholic Church, its clergy, religious, and laity, which pullulated in almost everything written by Mr. Adams. . . . The anti-Catholic bias of Mr. Adams was one of the elements which contributed to his defeat."\*

Speaking of the conditions existing at this time a writer says: "There was a curious mixed spirit of reform, zealotry, fanaticism, and absurdity abroad in 1830. It grew up under the fosterage of a portion of the press. As early as 1827 a clergyman of Philadelphia in the Seventh Presbyterian Church said, 'I propose a Christian party in politics. The Presbyterians alone can bring half a million electors into the field.' Mr. Wisner, a clergyman of Ithaca, New York, preached to advocate the rights of the Church, 'even to blood.'"<sup>†</sup> Thanksgiving Day sermons, consisting mainly of the most intemperate abuse of "Popery," were delivered in Protestant pulpits throughout the country. See for an example that of the pastor of the Union Street Baptist Church in Boston, quoted in *The Jesuit*, January 9, 1830. The Puritans of New England were especially vicious in their attacks upon the Church. Two years before (1828), the union of Church and State which had existed in Massachusetts since its earliest settlement as a colony had been dissolved, despite the most strenuous resistance on the part of the clergy of the established (Congregational) Church, and the rancor and bitterness of that contest had not subsided. Shea speaks of the "steadily increasing current of thought hostile to them" (Catholics), at the close of the first

\* History of the Catholic Church, Vol. III, p. 104.

† Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and his Times, p. 113.

Provincial Council of Baltimore (1830) "nurtured mainly by publications from the British Isles, a strong anti-Catholic literature evoked by the agitation in favor of Catholic Emancipation."\* The Second Provincial Council held three years later (1833) was compelled to notice this growing anti-Catholic sentiment, and, by their pastoral letter, the Bishops "exhorted the faithful to patience and forbearance under the vituperations and calumnies of a hostile press, the charges of disloyalty to the country, and the avowed efforts to check the progress of the Catholic religion and if possible extirpate it."†

Already acts of violence were reported, such as the defacing or destruction of tombstones with their crosses over the graves of Catholics in various parts of the country. St. Mary's Church, then on Sheriff Street, New York, was deliberately set on fire and destroyed, under circumstances indicating that a hatred of Catholicity had prompted the crime, and two years later (1833) the seminary established by Bishop Dubois at Nyack met a similar fate. Some time before the event an incendiary sermon had been preached in the neighborhood by Dr. Brownlee, the most notorious anti-Catholic agitator of that period. Many Catholics believed, and some of their newspapers charged, that the burning was of incendiary origin, but those best informed regarded it as accidental. In Dr. Herbermann's *Life of Bishop Dubois* (vol. I, *Historical Records and Studies*, p. 323) he indicates some circumstances which must incline to the belief that the misfortune was accidental.

In New York City Catholic Irishmen had been discharged from employment for having voted for Andrew Jackson,‡ and an association of Protestant ministers had been organized in that city under the name of the New York Protestant Association, and was actively engaged in attacking the Church through its journals as well as by addresses delivered at public meetings. A paper called *The Protestant* was established under the same auspices, followed later by the *Protestant Vindicator*, both engaged in the same work.

\* *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 420.

† *Ibid.*, p. 434.

‡ *Truth Teller*, Nov. 24, 1832.

In one of his letters Bishop England tells of the narrow bigotry manifested in his diocese, where Catholics, as a condition of obtaining employment, were required to place themselves on Sundays at the disposal of their employers, the avowed object being to compel them to attend the Evangelical Church, thus to prevent them from attending Mass or approaching the Sacraments; and of the attempts to starve them out of their religion by keeping from them, on the days of abstinence, such foods as they are warranted by their discipline to use.”\* And at a somewhat later day one reverend alarmist with apparent seriousness notes the fact that Catholic servants in Protestant families “have in unusual numbers refused to attend family worship.” He adds that “the arrogance and ingratitude of the priest in deranging the established order of Protestant families to whom they and their people are so deeply indebted, furnish a severe test to the spirit of forbearance.”†

It would be strange, indeed, if the public expression of sentiments such as these, the continual denunciation of Catholics as public enemies, and the constant abuse of their religion, had failed to excite the ignorant populace to acts of violence against the Church. Some pretext coupled with the opportunity was all that was needed to explode the pent-up malice and hatred which had been so assiduously cultivated, and New England was to be the scene of the first and, in a way, the greatest demonstration of religious intolerance from which Catholics were made to suffer; we refer to the crime of the burning of the convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in August, 1834.

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF THE URSULINE CONVENT AT CHARLESTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, IN 1834.

The Ursuline Community was established in Boston in 1820, and their convent was the first home for religious women to be located in New England. It owed its foundation to the zeal and efforts of three men whose names are identified with the growth of the early Church in that stronghold of Puri-

\* Bishop England's Works, Vol. IV, p. 45.

† Signs of Danger, etc., by Rev. Herman Norton, p. 65.



tanism, viz., Bishop Cheverus, his devoted friend, fellow-exile, and co-laborer, Rev. Francis A. Matignon, and last but not least, Rev. John A. Thayer. The latter was a native of Boston and a convert, who had been ordained a priest in Paris in 1790 and returning home had spent over twenty years of his priestly life on his native soil, doing the heroic work of a missionary priest among the humble and despised Catholics of those times. He realized the need of a community of religious women in Boston, particularly for the instruction of children, and he sought in various quarters to supply this want. He did not live to see the consummation of his work, but as the result of his appeals two Irish girls, Mary and Catherine, daughters of James Ryan of Limerick, who had been educated by the Ursulines at Thurles and had resolved to devote themselves to religious life, volunteered to go to America.

Arriving in Boston in 1817 they were welcomed by Dr. Matignon, and were then by him escorted to the house of the French Ursulines at Three Rivers, Canada, where they made their novitiate, and made their profession October 4, 1819, taking the names respectively of Sister St. Joseph and Sister St. Magdalen. Meantime a younger sister, Margaret Ryan, had followed the elder ones to America, and was making her novitiate under the same hospitable roof of the Ursulines at Three Rivers. This completed, she came to Boston and was professed by Bishop Cheverus in his cathedral on October 20, 1820.

Funds which had been left by the will of Father Thayer for the purpose were used for the purchase of a house on Federal Street adjoining the cathedral, where these brave women, the pioneers of their Order, went to live. Later on, however, it was realized that a mistake had been made in the selection of this place of residence; the surroundings were objectionable, and while the community had increased in numbers, the health of the inmates had steadily failed. Death had claimed its victims, among them the two founders, Catherine Ryan, who died in 1822, and Mary, who died the following year. In 1826, upon the accession of Bishop Fenwick, it was

decided to find a new home for them. Thereupon the property, embracing about twenty-seven acres subsequently known as Mount Benedict, situated at Charlestown close to Bunker Hill, and only two and one-half miles distant from Boston, was acquired; there, in July, 1826, the community, consisting of four choir nuns and two lay sisters, removed, occupying a brick house at the foot of the hill until the residence which was being built for them should be completed. While the community was residing in this house, Margaret, the last surviving of the Ryan sisters, died, and her remains were the first to be interred in the tomb erected in the convent grounds, which was afterwards so shamefully desecrated. In 1827 the community took possession of their new home, and the old farmhouse was given over to the servants' use. Besides the convent proper there was a small brick cottage of two rooms, dignified with the name of the "Bishop's lodge" which Bishop Fenwick used as his apartment on the occasions when he visited the convent and various outhouses; the grounds were made attractive by terraced walks and flower gardens.

The historic reputation of the Ursulines as educators of youth, the good impression which the community had made upon the intelligent classes during their stay in the heart of Boston, and the attractive situation of the new convent, coupled with the system of education followed by the nuns, had combined to bring the institution into favor. This steadily increased during the seven years of its existence. Notwithstanding repeated warnings from the anti-Catholic press to Protestant parents against the dangers to which their daughters would be exposed by being educated in a convent, pupils came from points as remote as Canada, the West Indies, and the Southern States, together with a considerable number from the New England States, representing some of the most prominent and intelligent families, many of them from Boston and its vicinity. It may interest the modern Catholic school girl and her parents to know that (as announced in the prospectus), the charge for a year's board and tuition was \$125, with \$4 added "for ink, quills, and paper." Music, drawing, etc., were

"extra;" and that "the uniform of the young ladies consists on week days of gray bombazett dress, and white on Sundays." The crime of the burning was committed on the night of Monday, August 11, 1834, four days before the expiration of the summer vacation, and when many of the pupils had returned in anticipation of the resumption of studies on August 15th following. At that time, according to reliable accounts, there were within the walls of the building ten nuns, seven of them choir nuns, and three lay sisters, besides two novices; one of these, the sister of the Superior, was in an advanced stage of pulmonary consumption. Her death occurred about two months after the fire, and without doubt was accelerated by the exposure and suffering to which she was subjected during that dreadful night. The Superior was a native of Canada—three others of the choir nuns were native-born citizens of the United States, and three were of Irish origin; one of the lay sisters was born in Ireland, the other two were natives of Boston. There were also some fifty-seven female scholars, most of them Protestants, and some not more than six or seven years old. All had their separate outfits provided by their parents; many had watches, chains, silver cups, and other jewelry and personal effects. Besides its furnishings, furniture, plate, and other equipment, the convent building contained seven or eight pianos, several harps and guitars, books, etc. A valuable library belonging to Bishop Fenwick was stored in the Bishop's lodge, and the Superior testified that the sum of about one thousand dollars in cash which had just been paid in by the pupils, was left locked in her desk in her room when she was driven out by the mob. The property was free of debt, and the value of the buildings and contents destroyed by mob violence was testified as amounting to \$50,000—no small sum in those days.

Several incidents occurring previous to the fire had served to excite the people of the neighborhood to an attitude of hostility toward the convent and especially toward the Superior. For months before, the Rev. Lyman Beecher had been preaching furiously in Boston against the wickedness of "Popery;"

large audiences had come to listen to his lectures on "The Devil and the Pope of Rome" whom he thus politely coupled, and on Sunday, August 3d, only eight days before the catastrophe, he made three addresses—diatribes they ought rather to be called—in three different churches in Boston in denunciation of "Romanism." Beecher, of course, was not the only anti-Catholic agitator of those days, although he was the most persistent and virulent of all. Shortly before the Charlestown horror the historian Bancroft wrote an article (published in the *Washington Globe*), which helped to fan the fire of religious bigotry against Catholics. This fact was commented on some years later upon the occasion of Bancroft's appointment by President Van Buren as Collector of the Port of Boston.\*

From other pulpits and platforms throughout the country, to say nothing of the printing press, similar appeals were made to the prejudice of the ignorant classes. Some four years before, the stable on the Ursuline grounds at Charlestown had been destroyed with all its contents by a fire of incendiary origin, and curiously enough within two months preceding this event Beecher had been preaching in the Park Street meeting-house in Boston on the dangers of "Popery."†

At Charlestown a large body of brick-makers working in the neighborhood of the convent were known to entertain unfriendly feelings toward the institution; one of them had already had an encounter with the watchman employed at the convent, and the Boston truckmen, who were organized into a body, made no secret of their hostility to the Catholic Church and especially to the "nunnery" as the convent was known.

Furthermore, the ill-will of the lower classes toward the institution had been inflamed by the lying stories which were put in circulation by a certain Miss Rebecca Theresa Reed, who had spent a short time in the institution in the years 1831-32. This young woman was originally an Episcopalian, wholly uneducated, homeless, and destitute. Without training or avocation of any sort she had drifted about Charlestown,

\* Truth Teller, 1839, p. 6.

† The Jesuit, Vol. I, pp. 212-218.

living with various Catholic families and performing such service as she could in return for the support she was receiving. Professing a desire to become a Catholic and to be admitted to the convent, she was instructed by Father Byrne, the pastor at Charlestown. She then expressed a desire to be admitted into the Ursuline Community. At first the Superior refused, but finally yielded so far as to receive her into the convent temporarily, for the purpose of giving her some education and perhaps a home. She remained there precisely four months and one week, during which time she received instruction in the most elementary branches and had opportunity of witnessing the routine of convent life. It needed but little observation of her character and qualifications to ascertain that she was not suited for the religious life nor qualified for admission to the Ursuline Community, and not likely to become so qualified, and she was notified that she could not remain in the institution beyond a specified day. She did not await this time, but left suddenly and without notice, and in her disappointment at being compelled to earn her living outside the convent she repaid the generosity of the nuns who had sheltered and supported her by circulating the most atrocious slanders against them. These stories were readily accepted by the ignorant classes who had already been familiarized by Rev. Lyman Beecher with the horrors of "nunneries" and a "publishing committee," who were ashamed to avow themselves but were known to include certain ministers of religion in Boston, took Rebecca under their wing, invented fresh "disclosures" as they were needed, taking care to see that they were widely circulated, and worked up the material thus provided into the narrative which later on (1835) was published under the title *Six Months in a Convent*. Although the book purported to have been written by Miss Rebecca Reed, it was well known that she was too illiterate to have penned a single sentence.

"An Episcopalian" who knew the girl well, wrote, in a letter to the *New York Star* (quoted by Bishop England in *Documents Relating to the Charlestown Convent*\*): "When

\*Bishop England's Works, Vol. V, pp. 275-6.

she left the convent her handwriting was scarcely legible and her spelling would disgrace a school-girl of seven years old. . . . If her book is written with anything like grammatical accuracy she owes it to the committee of publication who have prepared it for her." Needless to say that the contents of this precious narrative, so far as they reflected on the good name of the convent and its inmates, were a wicked invention.

But a still more exciting cause had its origin within the convent itself. Sister Mary John, formerly Miss Elizabeth Harrison of Philadelphia, was employed teaching music. She was one of the earliest accessions to the community upon its establishment in Boston, and had spent about ten years in the convent. Her general health was delicate. She had suffered from brain trouble and, as was subsequently ascertained, there was a tendency in her family to mental alienation. There is no doubt that she was overworked, for, apart from her other duties, she gave fourteen music-lessons every day, each of them by average lasting a half hour or more, and she had prepared the pupils for the exercises of "Coronation Day" with which the school year ended on the preceding first of July. Under this strain she broke down, and had an illness which culminated in brain fever and delirium. "Though tenderly nursed and closely watched," writes a Protestant lady who was then a pupil and residing in the convent, "she contrived one hot day, when doors and windows were left open, to elude the vigilance of her nurse and to make her escape into the world."\* She rushed into the nearest house, which was the residence of Mr. Edward Cutter, one of the Charlestown Selectmen who lived nearby and who conducted an extensive brickmaking business. From there, at her own request, she was conducted to the house of another neighbor, Mr. Cutter, who lived at West Cambridge, not far away. Here she was visited by her brother and brother-in-law, who lived in Boston and who had been sent for, and they offered to send or take her home or to some of her friends. These offers she declined. Next morning, at her own request communicated through her brother, Bishop Fen-

\* *Burning of the Convent*, p. 22.

wick called to see her, and after this interview she returned in company with the Bishop and her brother to the convent, where she remained until driven out by the mob on the night of August 11th.\* When the news got about that this Sister had left the convent there was great excitement. In one of the earliest newspaper notices of the incident she was described as "the mysterious lady," and it was stated that she had "escaped from imprisonment in one of the dungeons of the institution." Another story which found ready credence was that she had been "re-captured by the Lady Superior" aided by the Bishop, brought back to the convent, and there replaced in confinement—"that her friends had called for her and she could not be found." Threats were uttered by the brick-makers that they would destroy the convent. The Selectmen were called upon to investigate. Several of these, including Mr. Cutter and Mr. Runey, reported these threats to the Superior and asked her permission to inspect the convent, and to see and converse with Sister Mary John in order that they might assure the people that she was not detained against her will and thus allay the excitement, which was fast rising to a dangerous point. At first the Superior refused, and indiscreetly retorted that in case any harm should come to the convent there were thousands of Irishmen in Boston under the influence of the Bishop who would destroy the houses of Mr. Cutter and his friends; on second thought, however, Sister Mary John was called in and met and conversed with Mr. Cutter, and she, in company with the Superior, showed Mr. Cutter all through the building. Mr. Cutter left entirely satisfied that Sister Mary John was not under any restraint but was at liberty to go forth from the convent when she pleased, and Mr. Cutter so declared in a statement prepared by him for the newspapers.

On the following Monday, the 11th, a further interview occurred when five of the Selectmen called and met the Superior and Sister Mary John, and were conducted over the whole establishment, and, says the report before mentioned: "They remained three hours and searched the building from the cellar

\* Report of Faneuil Hall Committee in *The Jesuit*, Oct. 4, 1834.

to the highest apartment, looking through all the chambers and closets and opening every box, even paint-boxes. Two of the Sisters went with her (the Superior) to accompany the Selectmen, and one of them was the 'Mysterious Lady,' Miss Harrison (Sister Mary John). The Selectmen went away about 3 P. M."

A statement to the public was immediately issued by them, stating the results of their visits to the convent and of their investigations, and assuring the public that there were no grounds for the hostile feelings entertained against that institution. Unfortunately these assurances came too late.

The burning took place that same Monday night. During the preceding week anonymous handbills had been posted in various public places, and copies sent to the Charlestown Selectmen, declaring that the convent would be burned on the Thursday night following. Threats to the same effect were freely uttered, and one of the handbills which were circulated threatened the assassination of witnesses who might make any disclosures. Two weeks before the ringleaders had met secretly in the schoolhouse and had planned the destruction of the convent. The reports of the visits of Mr. Cutter and of the five Selectmen had been sent to the newspapers to be published on Thursday morning, the 12th inst., the earliest time when this could be done, and it was believed that when the results of their investigations were made public the excitement would subside. No police or other protection for the convent property was asked or offered. And so little anxiety was felt by the Protestant parents residing in the vicinity of Boston for the safety of their children then in the convent, that not one of these children was withdrawn prior to the fire. But the hateful spirit of religious persecution is not easily subdued, and neither the facts as ascertained by the Selectmen nor reason nor humanity could overcome the brutal propensities of the wretched men whose purpose was the destruction of the "nunnery."

Between eight and nine o'clock that same (Monday) evening, various parties of men were noticed hovering about



the convent, and, soon after, a truckload of tar barrels and other combustibles was set down nearby. These were set on fire evidently as signals. Then, says *The Jesuit* (August, 1834), "the crowd began to increase; shouts were uttered, accompanied with blasphemous speeches and the most horrid yells and vilest imprecations. The doors and windows of the convent were speedily broken in by stones and other missiles when the mob rushed in and in an instant began the work of destruction. The children were hastily taken out of bed and hurried out of the house; who all happily effected their escape, though half-naked, to the neighboring houses. The nuns and Superior were the last to leave the place. In a moment after the entire building was in a blaze, but not before most of the articles that were in it and which could be conveniently removed, were seized upon by the hands of the ruffians that had entered it. The nuns saved nothing, not even a change of clothes. The tabernacle itself with the holy altar was rifled, and the Sacrament taken out of the blessed ciborium and thrown into the fields. A few pieces only of it were afterwards picked up and restored. From the house they proceeded to the sanctuary of the dead. At the bottom of the garden a beautiful tomb had been constructed, which contained the dead bodies of five or six nuns. These were torn out of their coffins and exposed. . . . Early the following morning (the 12th inst.) the Bishop sent three carriages in quest of the nuns. They were found in different houses in the neighborhood. One of them was in a dying condition, being under a deep consumption at the time, another in a state of mental derangement, reproduced by the noise and tumult attending on the dreadful occasion; all of them in short in a state of great debility in consequence of the continual watching for several days previous."

This sober narrative, appalling as it is, but faintly depicts the horrors of that awful night. The exhaustive investigation which was soon after made by a committee of Protestant citizens, and the testimony of the witnesses given on the trial of the rioters, add many touches to the picture. Every honest heart must be instinctively excited to a sense of pity for the defence-

less and unoffending nuns and their little and helpless charges driven out at midnight from their home, the blaze which was destroying it lighting their way across the fields to the friendly shelter of neighbors' houses. Mingled with this is the feeling of regret that there were not a dozen resolute men at hand who would have been sufficient to disperse the mob, numerous though it was but cowardly as mobs always are, and to afford that protection to life and property which the boasted majesty of the law failed to give.

Although the lawbreakers began to assemble at about eight o'clock it was near eleven o'clock before the doors of the convent were battered down and the torch applied. The ringleaders were irresolute—some of them expressed apprehension lest there might be a man on the premises, possibly with a gun. They demanded of the Superior that she produce the "mysterious lady." Standing at an open window in an upper story of the building, the Superior attempted to speak to them, but her voice was drowned by the yells and hootings of the crowd. Some of the Selectmen who were present told the ringleaders that she (Sister Mary John) was under no restraint—that they had talked with her that day and that she had accompanied them through the building.

The firemen of Boston, whose attention was attracted by the tar fires which had been started, came upon the scene bringing their engines, but these functionaries, who were suspected, justly, we think, of sympathy with the rioters, were persuaded or compelled to withdraw without any attempt on their part to extinguish the fire or to interfere with the operations of the rioters. Indeed toward daylight, one of the fire engines was seen returning decked with flowers which it was said had served earlier in the evening to decorate the altar in the chapel.

When the flames and the advancing mob compelled the nuns to withdraw, they went to the foot of the garden and waited, hoping against hope for an opportunity to return, but at half an hour after midnight the fiends were seen in the second story going from room to room, ransacking closets, desks, and wardrobes, breaking the furniture and the musical instru-

ments, and piling the wreck in heaps which they presently set on fire. From convent building to chapel, to the Bishop's lodge, to the various outbuildings, stables, and the old farmhouse, the mob proceeded with diabolical system, firing one after the other—looting and plundering the premises of such portable things as fell in their way and wrecking what was left preparatory to firing it. A mock auction of the Bishop's books was held, and as volume after volume was "knocked down" amid ribald comments, it was tossed into the fire. Having despoiled the living of their homes—of all that was dear to them, these valiant heroes next proceeded to the resting-place of the dead, at a corner in the garden where a tomb had been constructed in which the remains of five or six nuns were reposing. Twelve hours before the Selectmen had explored this tomb in their quest for the "dungeon" where offending nuns were supposed to be immuned, and the gate had been left unlocked. The mob entered, tore the plates from the coffins, and exposed the remains. Some accounts say they scattered them over the grounds.

While this dreadful profanation was going on Mr. Edward Cutter before referred to sent some of his men, who removed some boards from the fence at the back of the garden to enable the nuns and their charges to escape from the fury of the fiends. From that point they were conducted to Mr. Cutter's house, the consumptive novice fainting and needing to be carried part of the way, while Sister Mary John again became delirious and could hardly be controlled by her companions. Knowing from the shouts and cries of the mob that they were seeking the Superior, and that if she were met with they would probably lay violent hands on her, Mr. Cutter advised that they take shelter elsewhere so as to escape this danger. And, he accompanying, this mournful procession of nuns and children trudged to the house of a Mr. Adams, who sheltered the unhappy company until morning.

Before daylight the parents of some of the children residing in Boston and its vicinity, having heard of the disaster, came to Mr. Adams' house and took away a number of the children.

Having marched them to the tavern at Charlestown a stage was secured, in which they were carried to Boston to the homes of parents and friends. On their way at daylight they encountered a large body of rioters, who were returning home in high spirits over the success of their expedition, and who yelled and jeered at the stage-load of children as they passed.

In the morning as soon as word came to Bishop Fenwick of what had happened, he dispatched messengers and carriages in search of the nuns and their charges, and these were found and safely lodged at the house of the Sisters of Charity in Boston. That they were exhausted and ill from the strain of the preceding twenty-four hours may easily be believed.

We have mentioned that the consumptive novice died soon afterwards, her death undoubtedly hastened by the mob. It has also been stated that three of the pupils died from the effects of that night's terrors and exposure, but as no names are given and as we have not found any corroboration of this statement we do not adopt it as true.\*

When the news of the night's occurrence spread the next day, intense excitement prevailed. The Catholic population were naturally inclined to avenge the wrongs which had been committed, and it was feared that they would attempt reprisals. A large body of Irish laborers were working on the Worcester and Providence Railroad, and these came into Boston in great numbers. Fearing that they would attempt retaliation, Bishop Fenwick during the afternoon dispatched several priests in different directions to intercept them and to warn them against attempting any disturbance. At six o'clock of that evening several hundred of the Catholic population who had assembled in the neighborhood of the cathedral were brought inside the building, and listened to an address by the Bishop, who, crucifix in hand, counselled them to patience and forbearance.

The respectable Protestants in the community were no less indignant at the wrongs which had been committed, and as early as one o'clock of the next day, upon the call of the Mayor of Boston, a large body of citizens assembled at Faneuil Hall

to take measures relative to the riot. The meeting was addressed by some of Boston's most distinguished citizens, and resolutions were adopted denouncing the "unparalleled outrage" as it was called, which had been committed the night before and pledging themselves to protect "our Catholic brethren in their persons, their property, and their civil and religious rights." A committee of twenty-eight were appointed to investigate the outrages and take measures for bringing the perpetrators to justice. The committee were also directed "to consider the expediency of providing funds to repair the damage done to the convent and the property of the inmates." This committee included such honored names as those of Charles G. Loring, its chairman, Horace Mann, Robert C. Winthrop, Nathan Appleton, Theophilus Parsons, and Thomas Motley.

In Charlestown a meeting of citizens was held at three o'clock of the same day, and similar resolutions were passed. The next day, the 13th, at Cambridge a similar meeting was held, at which the distinguished Judge Story spoke in condemnation of the wrong-doing. Letters of sympathy and regret came from other well known Protestants in New England to Bishop Fenwick, and if aught could redeem the Commonwealth of Massachusetts from the infamy into which the mob had dragged it, it would be that the noblest, the most cultured and most intelligent of its citizens were so prompt and unhesitating in their condemnation of the wrong and so ready to make full amends to the innocent victims.

On August 15th the governor issued his proclamation reciting the outrage and offering a reward for the conviction of any of the offenders. Meantime reports were circulated that the Irish Catholics, maddened by the details which were only gradually being learned showing the intense malice of the attack, had threatened to burn Boston and Charlestown. The members of the committees appointed by the several municipalities were constantly in session and in communication with the authorities and the military companies of Boston were assembled, some of them at Faneuil Hall, others at the Arsenal. For a week or more following the burning, the men from the

revenue cutter in the harbor were brought ashore at night and were quartered at Faneuil Hall as an additional protection. The committee appointed at the meeting held at Faneuil Hall applied itself diligently to the investigation, and examined more than one hundred and forty witnesses. As the result of a most painstaking inquiry they brought in a report which discussed the whole case exhaustively, and declared "that the destruction of the convent might be attributed primarily to a widely extended popular aversion, founded on the belief that the establishment was obnoxious, to those imputations of cruelty, vice, and corruption so generally credited of similar establishments in other countries . . . fomented to hatred by representations injurious to the moral reputation of the members of that community . . . and also by reports that one of the sisterhood, Mrs. (Sister) Mary John . . . had been put to death or secretly imprisoned or removed."\*

In a temperate review of the evidence the committee showed how unfounded were each and every one of these charges, and how utterly without justification was the conduct of the mob. And while they condemned the violence of the mob they also censured the officers of the law whose supineness or timidity allowed the wrong to be committed. The committee likewise expressed the hope "that a suitable compensation will be provided for the sufferers, so that the same page on which the history of our disgrace shall be recorded may bear testimony to the promptitude of our justice to the injured."

Thirteen persons in all were indicted for complicity in the riot and nine were arrested. The prisoners were charged with the crimes of arson and burglary, the former being at that time a capital offence under the laws of Massachusetts, a circumstance which no doubt increased the difficulty of obtaining a conviction. The most notorious of the prisoners was a man named Buzzell; another was Pond, who was a brother-in-law of Rebecca Theresa Reed and was known to have been one of the originators of the attack. The trials were begun on December 2, 1834, Buzzell being the first one to be put on trial.

\* Bishop England's Works, Vol. V, p. 233.

Although the District Attorney was aided in the prosecution by the Attorney General, and both made every effort to secure conviction, exerting themselves honestly and sincerely to that end, yet in spite of the most abundant and convincing evidence that Buzzell was a ringleader in the transaction, the jury came in with a verdict of acquittal. During the trial every effort was made to terrorize witnesses. Some had to be brought to court by process of arrest. The officer who made the arrests was hung in effigy in the streets of Boston—threatening letters were sent to the public prosecutor, and handbills were printed and circulated tending to excite popular prejudice against the court and the Attorney General. And at the very time when the trial was going on, and for some time before, the Selectmen of Roxbury were compelled to maintain a nightly watch over the house on the General Dearborn estate which had been secured as a temporary residence for the nuns, this precaution being necessary because of the threats which had been made that it, too, would meet the same fate which had overtaken the convent at Charlestown. During the trial Sister Mary John appeared as a witness and testified to the circumstances, as we have above stated them, under which she had left the convent and then returned.

The trial of others of the rioters, including Pond and his employer, a brick manufacturer, Alvah Kelly by name, immediately followed, with the result that no conviction was had except in the case of Marcy, a youth of seventeen years of age, the son of a neighboring hotel-keeper. His participation in the affair was less criminal by far than that of Buzzell. Marcy remained in prison only seven months, when he was pardoned, the Superior of the convent and Bishop Fenwick joining in the application for his release.

The jury had failed to agree upon a verdict in the cases of Pond and Kelly, and in the following June they were again placed on trial. This time they were acquitted. When Buzzell was released shouts of applause came from the crowd in the court room, and the fellow had the effrontery to publish a card thanking the citizens of Charlestown for their manifestations

of kindness to him on his acquittal. During the trial most extraordinary license was permitted to the lawyers for the prisoners; these cross-examined the Superior and the Bishop about auricular confession—to whom the nuns confessed, what the Bishop did when he visited the convent, and the like irrelevant topics.

The Concord (N. H.) *Freeman* in its issue of June, 1835, expressed its satisfaction that "old Massachusetts is no longer disgraced by a nunnery and its accompaniments" and incidentally it scolded the Attorney General who had prosecuted the rioters, for his activity in trying to bring these miscreants to justice.

And the *Presbyterian*, published at Richmond, Va., rebuked the *New York Churchman* (Episcopalian) for having expressed its sympathy with the unfortunate Ursulines, and its regret that the State of Massachusetts had not thought proper to indemnify them for their money loss.\*

Of Buzzell the author of *The Charlestown Convent* says (p. 80): "Buzzell had once been in the State prison and he died some years afterwards in that State (Vermont). It was stated in the newspapers of the time that he confessed his participation in the events of the convent burned before his death. The confession was entirely supererogatory, for no one who was present at it or read the reports of the trial would have any doubts in regard to his guilt."

Notwithstanding the good disposition of the foremost Protestant citizens of Boston, who recommended that compensation ought in justice be made to those who had sustained damage by the burning of the convent, no amends were ever made by the State of Massachusetts. Time and again the matter was brought before the legislature of that State, and distinguished Protestants did honor to themselves by their advocacy of the duty of the Commonwealth to make compensation. But these were in the minority and the shifty politicians whose political careers depended on the favorable votes of the Buzzells, the Marceys, and their kind, had not the courage to do justice to the Ursulines. But if the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

\* United States Catholic Miscellany, 1835, p. 358.



could not protect the lives and property of those of its citizens professing the Roman Catholic religion, if it could not acknowledge any duty to compensate the owners for property within its borders destroyed by a mob of its own citizens, it still retained some of the attributes of government. It could levy and collect taxes, and it insisted upon payment of the taxes upon the heap of ruins marking the spot where the convent had stood, and Bishop Fenwick paid the amount exacted by the tax collector for the protection of the convent property for the year 1834.

Harriet Grace Spofford, in her narrative of "Charlestown," in *New England Legends* (p. 14) inserts the following scathing commentary on the conduct of the State officials.

"November 26, 1834.

"Received of Bishop Fenwick the sum of seventy-nine dollars and twenty cents, the same being taxes assessed by the assessors of the town of Charlestown upon the land and building of the late convent of Mount Benedict for the year 1834, and which were this day demanded by Solomon Hovey, Jr., collector; agreeably to the instructions received by him from the assessors to that effect, although said buildings had been destroyed by a mob in August last."

"\$79.20

(Signed) Solomon Hovey, Jr.,

"Collector."

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY.

It might be thought, perhaps, that with the destruction of the convent the fury of the mob would have been appeased, and that some sense of shame and humiliation would have come over the deluded victims of fanaticism at sight of the deplorable consequences to which this prejudice had led. The respectable portions of the Protestant community had spoken out promptly and emphatically in condemnation of the outrage. Catholics had been with difficulty restrained from retaliating for the wrong done them. Surely all this must have induced a re-action. But the fury of religious hate is such an inhuman sentiment that it is not controlled by the ordinary rules operat-

ing in human affairs. The extermination of "Popery" had been triumphantly begun, and it must go on. True, this had been accomplished by acts clearly of a criminal character. Property had been destroyed and human life imperilled, but all these considerations were of no avail against the spirit of hatred of the Catholic Church. All that was base and degraded in human nature found vent in this one overpowering master passion. The very facility with which a great wrong had already been committed proved an incentive to further wrongdoing. Indeed the very next night a procession of rowdies passed through the streets of Boston, making demonstrations against some of the Catholic churches, and afterwards proceeded to Charlestown, where they set fire to the fences on the convent grounds and destroyed the fruit trees and shrubbery. Threats were made that the Catholic churches of Boston would suffer the same fate as the convent, so that nightly watch was kept up for some time to guard them against attack. The reverend agitators whose tirades had inflamed the minds of the lower classes abated none of their zeal for the defence of the country against "Popery," and it was about this time and under these circumstances that the first Native American party was formed. In his *Defence of the American Policy* published at New York City in 1856, Thomas R. Whitney, who was one of the organizers, says (p. 240): "No attempt to organize a distinct party devoted to the American policy occurred until the year 1834. This took place in the city of New York, and was ushered upon the public attention by a temperate address in which were recounted the rapidly increasing dangers of foreign and papal influences upon all republican institutions, and setting forth the necessity of radical amendments to our system of naturalization as a shield against their encroachments."

The ex-Rev. S. S. Smith, a renegade priest, who published in New York a filthy sheet styled the *Downfall of Babylon*, and neglected no opportunity to befoul the nest from which he had sprung, announced (Vol. I, p. 127) that the formal organization of the Native American party took place at a meet-

ing held at the North American Hotel in New York City June 10, 1835.

The organization adopted the name "Native American Democratic Association," and resolutions were passed lamenting the coming of so many foreigners into the country, declaring that it was not compatible with their honor as native citizens to aid in the election of any foreigner to any office of trust or power, and that native citizens ought always be preferred for every civil or municipal office. The *Downfall* published their resolutions in full, and hailed the association as a "religious scheme for the salvation of our country." "In a short time," says the author of the *Defence*, "an organization was so far effected as to warrant the nomination of a distinct American ticket for local offices." Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, famous as the inventor of the telegraph system, was chosen as the American candidate for the office of Mayor of New York, and at the election which immediately followed he polled a considerable vote—not enough to elect him, however.\* The movement in New York was quickly felt in various other cities in different parts of the Union. It was resisted by the old political leaders and very largely by the press controlled

\* Professor Morse, although born within the shadow of Bunker Hill, was an inveterate hater of liberty of conscience when that liberty was claimed by his Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, and he was prominent in the councils of the native American party and active in extending its influence. His first work attacking the Church, published anonymously, was entitled *Brutus, or, a Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States*, and appeared in 1835. He edited the *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest*, published in 1836, designed to expose "the abominations of Popery." The "French Catholic priest," probably an unscrupulous apostate, had the grace to conceal his name from the public, but Morse vouched for his identity, although refusing to disclose his name and commended his "confessions" to public consideration. Later on he became engaged in a discussion with Bishop Spalding of Louisville as to the authenticity of the phrase imputed to Lafayette, and which was used as a motto for many of the anti-Catholic books of the period, "If ever the liberties of the United States be destroyed it will be by Romish priests." The question is reviewed at length in the *Miscellanea*, Vol. II, p. 635, and the unprejudiced reader will find no difficulty in agreeing with the conclusion reached by Bishop Spalding that the charge against Lafayette of having uttered this silly phrase was unsupported by evidence and was preposterous.

by the different parties, and, continues our author, "after a struggle of two or three years the first American party was overwhelmed and utterly obliterated."\*

Signs, however, were not wanting to indicate that a concerted movement was taking place in different parts of the country having one and the same object, viz., the vilification of the Catholic Church and the political ostracism of its members, the former in aid of the latter, and both together constituting the essential elements of the Native American policy. In Philadelphia, on Feb. 13, 1835, a notice appeared in the *Gazette* stating that a meeting would take place that evening in the Presbyterian Church to discuss the question: "Is the Roman Catholic Religion in any or all its Parts or Principles unfavorable to Civil or Religious Liberty?" Rev. Dr. Brownlee of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York, and Rev. John C. Breckenridge, a Presbyterian of Philadelphia, were announced as the speakers. These two men vied with Rev. Lyman Beecher in their denunciations of "Romanism," and Bishop Kenrick, anticipating that they would attack the Church in their accustomed manner, issued a brief notice which appeared in the evening papers of that same day, cautioning Catholics to refrain from taking part in the proceedings of this meeting and thereby avert a breach of the peace which might otherwise happen.

On March 13, 1835, a public meeting was announced to be held under the auspices of the Protestant Association at Broadway Hall in New York City to discuss the question: "Is Popery Compatible with Civil Liberty?" Brownlee and several reverend coadjutors were present to expose "Popery." While the Rev. Mr. Lilley was "delivering an introductory prayer," a mob broke into the hall, drove the clergymen out, and the meeting ended in disorder. Who these intruders were was not ascertained. Shortly after (March 29, 1835), Bishop Dubois issued a notice cautioning all the members of the Church within his jurisdiction against attending "meetings held by certain sectarians for the express and sole purpose of misrepresenting,

\* Whitney, *Defence*, etc., pp. 241-242.

calumniating, and insulting the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church."

About this time (March, 1835) announcement was made of the publication in Boston of *Six Months in a Convent*, by Rebecca Theresa Reid, alias "Sister Agnes." To be sure, the Faneuil Hall Committee of distinguished Protestant gentlemen had critically investigated all the reports which were circulated by her or attributed to her, affecting the good name of the convent, and had, some months before the publishing of the book, reported that they were wholly unfounded. But this circumstance did not deter the reverend gentlemen who had compiled the work from marketing their product, from which they expected and in fact realized large profits. Besides, at this time, their friends, the rioters and convent burners, were awaiting trial, and it could do them no harm to arouse the populace again to indignation against the "nunnery." Ten thousand copies of the book were said to have been sold in Boston within the first week after its publication.

In July, 1835, a "Canadian Benevolent Association" was organized in New York through the exertions of Rev. Mr. Hoyt, who was said to have been engaged in "mission work" in Lower Canada and in consequence was qualified to speak of the pernicious effects of "Popery," from which that country was suffering. The declared purpose of this society was "to arrest the progress of 'Popery,' and to enlighten and convert their ignorant, vicious, and degraded subjects" in Canada.\* Our old acquaintance, Dr. Brownlee, was the vice-president in this society.

It is true that its founder, the Rev. Mr. Hoyt, had been engaged in "mission work" in Canada, but his work was scarcely of a kind which decent people of whatever creed would care to engage in, for he was best known as the companion and protector of that notorious impostor, Maria Monk, whom he accompanied to and from Montreal, holding himself forth en route as her husband, and had assisted in the compilation of

\* Downfall of Babylon, Vol. I, pp. 139, 140.

the book published over her signature which attacked the nuns of the Hotel Dieu of Montreal to which we shall refer later on.

Brownlee seems to have allowed himself no respite in his warfare against the Church, for in August, 1835, we find a "Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge" organized in New York with our reverend agitator as its first president. It was made up of Evangelical Christians, mostly ministers of different denominations, and its professed purpose was "to educate the community by spreading the pure truth of the Christian religion and destroying 'Popery.'" This society, like many other instrumentalities of the anti-Catholic campaign, was modeled after a British society of the same name organized and having headquarters at Exeter Hall, London, the nerve-center of the "No-Popery" propaganda in England. The *Quarterly Christian Spectator* published at New Haven had lately reviewed the work of the British society, and had taken occasion to enlarge on "the dangers which are to be apprehended to the liberties and religion of Protestants by the efforts of the Roman Catholics to extend the dominion of the Pope," remarking incidentally that Great Britain and the United States have a common interest in this subject.\*

The scheme of holding public meetings for the discussion of the "doctrines of 'Popery'" was a large feature in the work of the society, and the various public meetings organized by Brownlee in different parts of the country were in harmony with the methods of the "No-Popery" fanatics then in operation in England and Ireland.

In the city of Pittsburgh at about the same time a similar agitation was under way. "Already," says a Protestant writer in *Pittsburgh Manufacturer*, (quoted in *Truth Teller*, May 30, 1835) "have threats been made that the Catholic Cathedral that ornaments our city must share the fate of the Charlestown convent . . . that the Sisters of Charity would be forced to leave . . . We have now going on in our city nightly tirades against Catholics delivered from the pulpits, the session-rooms

\* *Quarterly Christian Spectator*, conducted by an "Association of Christian gentlemen" (unnamed), Vol. VII, p. 258, June, 1835.

of churches and various other places . . . Reverend gentlemen have met in secret conclave to determine upon the best means of eradicating Catholicity from the land . . . United action in the pulpit—united action in society—united action at the polls against Catholics and their religion were the means proposed and agreed on.”

Discarding the flimsy pretences by which these reverend agitators sought to justify their attacks on Catholicity, the same writer declared that their real design was “the union of Church and State . . . a union of religious and political power, and a Presbyterian government and a disfranchising of all those who are not of their religious creed.”

And this same sentiment was advocated in other parts of the country as when for example the Rochester *Democrat* declared: “The Presbyterian Church will be the established Church of this Union or we will wade through blood to attain that just prerogative.”\*

While New York and New England were the centers of this un-Christian agitation, no section of the country was exempt from its operation. Shortly after the Charlestown horror, Lyman Beecher had left Boston, going to Cincinnati, where he became president of a seminary for young men. While so engaged he wrote his *Plea for the West*, the main portion of which was devoted to exhibiting the “alarming influence of ‘Popery’ ” on the rising States of the great western valley, and incidentally the duty of providing funds for the support of his seminary to which the West might look for its future religious teachers. This *Plea for the West* was extensively circulated and found a willing audience among the population of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, which was made up to a considerable extent of New Englanders who had abandoned their native State and had gone West to better their circumstances and had carried their religious prejudices with them. But there was a steady increase going on in the number of Catholics. Hundreds of conversions of intelligent American Protestants were reported, some of them coming from families

\* Quoted in N. Y. Catholic Diary, p. 118, July 2, 1830.

of distinguished name and ancestry. In a letter written about this time by Bishop Reye, addressed to the *Annales of the Propagation of the Faith*, cited in Life of Bishop Dubois (*supra*, Historical Records and Studies, Vol. I, p. 327), he notes various causes operating, some in America, some in Europe, all in favor of Catholicity, and all having their beginning in Protestantism itself. He refers, for example, to the relaxation of the laws against the Catholics of England and Ireland and the improved conditions resulting to Catholics—the opening and growth of the Oxford movement, the great number of men of eminence and learning who were daily becoming converts, the fact that many of the smaller German princes had entered into concordats and conventions with Rome, and that Calvinistic Holland had given formal official consent to the reorganization of the Catholic hierarchy. The activities of those two valiant helpers of our missionary undertakings, viz., the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Leopoldine Foundation, came to be known and their work deplored in the Protestant press and in the Protestant pulpit. Sometimes the dissatisfaction showed itself in acts of assault, as when, in Michigan, the Catholic church at Sault Ste. Marie was plundered and the windows smashed, the altar utensils thrown out of doors and destroyed, the missal torn to shreds and the church itself set on fire. Father Hatscher, a Redemptorist, was stationed there at that time. It was the work of a fanatical mob encouraged by one of the religious teachers of the Beecher type.\*

A year or two later Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati was drawn into a public debate with Rev. Alexander Campbell, a Presbyterian, the founder of the sect known as Campbellites. The discussion took place in the Baptist church in Cincinnati and lasted eight days. In August, 1839, the convent of the Carmelite nuns in Baltimore was surrounded by a mob which threatened its destruction. One of the nuns who came of a distinguished Catholic family had left the convent suddenly,

\* Life of Bishop Baraga, pp. 165, 259, by Rev. P. Chrysostomus Verwyst, O.F.M.



after spending nearly twenty years in the community. She had suffered from mental derangement, as the foremost physicians of Baltimore certified. Nevertheless the cry was raised that she had been ill-treated, and the Rev. Mr. Breckenridge, the Presbyterian minister who had the distinction of having debated on religion with Rev. John Hughes, preached violently against Catholics, thus inciting the mob to violence. The military were called out and for three days a guard was maintained for the protection of the convent.\*

At Raleigh, N. C., the distinguished Judge William Gaston, a Catholic of high character and exemplary life who served his State in Congress and was universally recognized as a model citizen, was attacked by the anti-Catholic press and by various ministers of religion on the occasion of his election by the Legislature of his own State in 1831 to the office of Judge of the Supreme Court. The charge was made that he had obtained some ecclesiastical permission to accept the office, and had procured something in the nature of a dispensation to commit perjury in taking his oath of office.†

#### ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

One of the deadliest agencies employed in the warfare against the Church was the printing-press, and this was especially true of the period we are discussing. From the very foundation of government there had been a steady and ever-increasing stream of calumny poured out on the Church from the columns of the newspaper presses, and more especially from the professedly religious journals. Indeed so gross was the abuse and so great the prejudice aroused in the minds of men who otherwise were fair and well-disposed, that the Catholic newspapers of the first half century were avowedly established for the express purpose of controverting, so far as they might be able, the falsehoods which were circulated by the anti-Catholic press, and of presenting the truth for the dispassionate consideration of fair-minded Americans.

\* Shea, Vol. III, pp. 448-9; Sharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 515.

† Bishop England's Works, Vol. IV, pp. 103-110.

The initial numbers of the *Catholic Miscellany* founded in 1822 by Bishop England, *The Jesuit*, founded in 1829 by Rev. Dr. O'Flaherty of Boston, the *Catholic Press* founded in 1829 at Hartford, the *Telegraph* established at Cincinnati by Bishop Purcell in 1831, the *Catholic Herald* begun in Philadelphia in 1833, not to speak of others later in date, each and every one acknowledged the urgent need of a Catholic press. We have already quoted from the pastoral letter issued by the Fathers of the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore held in 1833, counselling both clergy and laity to patience and forbearance under the charges made against them and against their religion. No admonition was more constantly needed nor more frequently repeated by bishops and clergy throughout the land to restrain their people from resenting the insults heaped upon them.

In its early stages this anti-Catholic literature consisted largely of attacks on the doctrines and practises of the Church, made by the religious and in a lesser degree by the secular newspapers. Much of it was reproduced from the newspapers and anti-Catholic periodicals established in London and in the north of Ireland, in which the Gunpowder Plot, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, and the like subjects were fully exploited.

But the iteration of the Pope as the "man of sin" and of the Church as the "modern Babylon" and "mystery of iniquity," and the charges of attempting to establish an inquisition in this country began to pall, and immediately following the Charlestown horror the promoters of this anti-Catholic literature devoted themselves to the manufacture of "confessions" of escaped nuns, and similar "exposures" and "revelations" whose suggestive titles were calculated to ensure large sales and corresponding profits to their enterprising purveyors. The great financial success of *Six Months in a Convent* had excited the cupidity of other reverend gentlemen who were solicitous to lift the veil of "Popery" and a *Supplement to Six Months in a Convent* was soon marketed by the same "Committee of Publication" which had issued the original

libel. *Frances Partridge* (a pretended runaway nun) followed, with its "revelations," and *Rosamond Culbertson* was the title of a "loathsome and disgusting record of infamy,"\* which professed to expose the wickedness of the confessional. This was put forth by the wretched apostate priest, Samuel B. Smith, whom we have previously named as the editor of the *Downfall of Babylon* published at New York with the patronage of various Protestant ministers, and author likewise of a *Renunciation of Popery*. *Louise, a Canadian Nun, Open Convents, Secrets of Nunneries Disclosed, Thrilling Mysteries of a Convent Revealed*, were other books which were to open the eyes of the people to the horrors of convent life. Indeed, no small space would be needed merely to enumerate the titles of the books of this class which appeared between the years 1835 and 1840.

The most atrocious, however, of all these publications was the volume entitled *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*. In these "disclosures" shocking charges of immorality were made against the nuns in charge of Hotel Dieu of Montreal† from which the author pretended to have escaped. These were made by her as of her own knowledge, she claiming to have been an inmate of the institution and a member of the community and to have witnessed all that she narrated. If this narrative were true, the nuns and priests whom she attempted to implicate were deserving of the most severe punishment and Catholics everywhere might well hang their heads in shame. The work was put on the market by the publishing firm of Harper & Brothers and under the patronage of three ministers of religion, Messrs. Bourne, Slocum, and our old-time friend, Dr. Brownlee, and with all the assistance which the Protestant association could give it. So gullible was the public, so ready was it to believe any story, no matter how outrageous, which affected Catholics unfavorably, that two editions of 40,000 copies each were rapidly sold, and a new volume of *Further Disclosures* was published in 1837 under the same distinguished

\* See N. Y. Catholic Diary, Vol. V, p. 204.

† A charitable establishment for the sick poor founded by Madame de Bullion, a pious French lady, in 1644.

auspices. In fact, the book was a tissue of lies from beginning to end. Respectable Protestants, ministers and laymen, as well as Catholics in Montreal who knew the institution and the nuns in charge, denounced it as a vile fabrication and the press of that city was unanimous in exposing the fraud. Not only was it demonstrated that the charges were not true, but it was also shown that Maria Monk had never been in the institution in any capacity and was absolutely unknown to any of the nuns.

It did appear, however, that Maria, having led a vicious life, had become an inmate of a Magdalen asylum in Montreal, and on leaving there met the Rev. Mr. Hoyt (before referred to) with whom she had traveled as his wife, and on coming to New York had been taken under the protecting wing of Brownlee and his associates; that she had never written a line of the book, but that it had been prepared by a Mr. Timothy Dwight. When the money came rolling in from the sale of the *Awful Disclosures*, the partners in the enterprise disagreed over the division of the spoils, and a litigation ensued between the Harpers, Brownlee, Slocum, and Maria Monk, in the course of which the origin of the work was disclosed.\*

So great was the excitement created that William L. Stone, a Protestant gentleman and then editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* of New York, resolved to make a personal investigation, and after extending an invitation to Maria to be present (which she discreetly declined), he, with several other gentlemen, went to the Hotel Dieu and, with the full permission of the nuns as well as of the Archbishop, inspected the premises, made a thorough investigation, and satisfied themselves that the charges were not true. On his return to New York he published a refutation of them and exposed the book for what it really was—a most audacious fraud. He wrote that “Maria Monk is an arrant impostor and her book, in all its essential features, a tissue of calumnies.” Although Brownlee himself not long after, acknowledged the forgery, his co-worker, Rev. Mr. Slocum, went to London, and there brought out an edition which was crowned with the praises of the Tory *Times* and

\* *New York Herald*, August 27, 28, 1836.

*Standard.* No book has done more to poison the minds of ignorant non-Catholics against the Church, as none was conceived with more diabolical malice or more shamelessly circulated even after its true character had been made known. For the educated class of Protestants and for use at public meetings when the "errors of 'Popery'" were to be exposed, a different sort of literature was provided. Thus, for example, in 1830 an edition of the *Following of Christ* was published by a Baptist pastor of Boston, and was denounced by *The Jesuit* (Vol. I, p. 164) as "incomplete, perverted and falsified." In 1834 there was published simultaneously in Boston and New York a New Testament, whose title page announced that the work was "translated out of the original Greek and published by the English College at Rheims, anno 1582. With the original Preface, arguments and tables, marginal notes and Annotations."\*

This was professedly our Catholic New Testament, with the notes made by the Rheims translators. These notes were written in an era of the most cruel persecution, and have in later and more peaceful times been considered harsh and have been quoted by our adversaries to show the persecuting spirit of Catholicity. We need hardly say that these notes have never been sanctioned by the Church. The accuracy of this pretended Catholic Bible was vouched for, not by any Catholic prelate, but by the Rev. Messrs. Breckenridge, Maclay, and Patton, Presbyterian, and Rev. Messrs. Brownlee and DeWitt, Dutch Reformed clergymen, who added their own annotations; and was accompanied by an address signed by about one hundred ministers, most of them identified with either Yale, Rutgers, or Princeton colleges, commending the work. The book thus recommended was not what it purported to be, but was fundamentally a reproduction of the work published by a Protestant doctor of divinity (Fulke) in 1601, who had prepared it for use in the Church of England, basing his work on the Rheims translation which he had garbled to suit his

\* Cotton, Rhemes and Doway, pp. 127, 133, 241, where the entire title page is reproduced.

purpose, and contained his strictures upon the notes of the Rheims translators.

This Rheims translation, with the questionable notes, had been published in 1813 by McNamara, a bookseller of Cork. The printing was done in Dublin, and there is ample evidence to show that the work was favored by the Catholic Archbishop Troy and many other distinguished ecclesiastics who were named.\* There were two thousand five hundred subscribers, and five hundred copies were turned over to the printer for his compensation. Before all the numbers were published the bookseller failed and the printer left Ireland for America. An attempt was then made to complete the publication, and in 1816, under the imprint of Richard Coyne, Catholic publisher of Dublin, and with the approval of Dr. Troy, and after revision by one of his own priests, the book was finally issued to the public. Immediately the prominent Protestant reviews cried out against the notes. Dr. Troy, on October 24, 1817, published a letter in which he withdrew his approbation of the work. His letter stopped the sale and the five hundred copies out of which the printer was to have secured his pay remained unsold and the greater part were shipped to America,† to be disposed of there. There would seem no doubt but that it was one of these copies which reached the hands of the Brownlee committee, and which furnished some of the material of their precious "Catholic" Bible.

In a learned note contributed by John Gilmary Shea to Archbishop Bayley's *History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York*, p. 124-5, the fraudulent character of this Breckenridge-Brownlee Bible is exposed.

In the debate before the New York Common Council on the school question in 1841 a Presbyterian clergyman attacked the Church, quoting extensively from this discredited Bible, and was answered by Bishop Hughes, who showed its true character.‡

\* Cotton, Rhemes and Doway, Oxford, 1855, pp. 111, 112, 113.

† Ibid., p. 113.

‡ Kehoe, Life of Archbishop Hughes, Vol. I.

A pretended translation of the moral theology of St. Alphonsus Liguori was put forward in New York in 1836 by Rev. Mr. Slocum and other ministers, aided by the ex-priest Smith, and was used against Bishop Purcell in his debate with Campbell in Cincinnati in 1837. The fraudulent character of this work was shown at one of the sessions by the Bishop, who also exposed the real character of the *Church History of Dens*, the Jansenist, a work which, although condemned by Pope Clement XI. and its author censured, was constantly used by the anti-Catholic agitators as if it were an authoritative book of Catholic doctrine and history.

Meantime a continual lament was kept up in the religious journals in various parts of the country against the invasion of "Popery" and (what was most irritating) that some of its misguided adherents could be seen "filling important places of trust in the republic." Congress was bombarded with petitions for a change in the naturalization laws, for the stoppage of Sunday mails, and to compel a strict observance of the Sabbath. The necessity of having a "Christian party in politics" was everywhere openly argued, in the pulpit as well as from political platforms and in the religious journals, as the only protection for the liberty of the republic against the dangers with which it was threatened by the Pope and his emissaries.

The influential secular newspapers, more astute than their religious contemporaries, did not, generally speaking, take kindly to the idea of a new party in politics whose underlying principle was religious proscription, and from time to time these secular papers were scolded for their lukewarmness.

Speaking of these varied forms of attack on the Church at this time (1837), an intelligent New England Protestant said: "How were Catholics treated? Like conspirators and enemies. Christians and politicians denounced them as the enemies of religion and liberty. Certain bloodhounds, in the form of periodical writers, were let loose, to mangle them indiscriminately, as spirits from the pit. The whole community were taught to regard them with a kind of horror, as being,

from the least to the greatest of them, the accredited agents of pandemonium.”\*

THE PERIOD 1840—1850.—BISHOP HUGHES AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY.

In 1840, two years after Bishop Hughes had been appointed coadjutor to Bishop Dubois in New York, the Public School Question was precipitated into the political arena in the State, and this event served to arouse and intensify the anti-Catholic hostility, not only in New York but in many other places. Catholics there had complained that their children attending the schools maintained by the Public School society were compelled to listen to the reading of the Protestant Bible, and to comments on it from Protestant teachers, and to make use of text-books in which history was falsified to the prejudice of the Catholic Church. A book of “Scripture Lessons” without note or comment, and a “Catechism,” afterwards styled a “Manual,” were among the appointed text-books. Catholic teachers were practically excluded from these schools—there were six Catholic and over one hundred non-Catholic teachers—and the efforts which had been made by Bishop Dubois to remedy these evils had been resisted by the sectarian society which at that time controlled the administration of free school education in the city of New York. This society was one of those anomalous and mischievous creations of the law, a private corporation authorized to the performance of a public duty. It had the spending of about \$140,000 annually of public funds in the work of public education, although the Common Council designated the schools which were to be supported. It had fifty trustees besides the public officials who were ex-officio members of its board. Three or four of these were Catholics, as many more perhaps came from other denominations, apart from the Presbyterians who composed the overwhelming majority of all the trustees. Had these men been fairly disposed there was no legal difficulty to prevent the appropriation of some of its

\* New Haven Quarterly Christian Spectator, June, 1837, pp. 268-90.



funds in aid of the Catholic schools which were giving free education to Catholic children. But the anti-Catholic temper of the society was such that it seems idle to think that any such concession would be voluntarily made. Nevertheless, while Bishop Hughes was absent in Europe, various of his clergy and trustees of the different churches deemed it wise to apply for a portion of the school fund in aid of their schools. Accordingly they petitioned the Board of Aldermen and—were refused.

The agitation, however, was not abandoned. Meetings were held, committees formed, and the matter became the subject of newspaper discussion. Worse than anything else, the movement fell into the hands of the professional politicians of that time, so that not only the success of the movement was endangered, but equally the Catholic name was in danger of being discredited. At this juncture Bishop Hughes returned from Europe. He saw at once that if the movement was to go forward he must himself take hold, relegate the politicians to the background, and give it proper direction. Under his impulse meetings were held at which he addressed his people, and very soon another petition prepared by himself was presented to the Board of Aldermen, asking them to designate the several parochial schools then established in New York as among those entitled to share in the school fund. Immediately the Public School society remonstrated, as did the Methodists, and a day was appointed for a public hearing. The Bishop attended, accompanied by Dr. Pise and others of his clergy, and by members of the committee of the laity. The Public School society had its counsel and the Methodists, Presbyterians, and members of the Dutch Reformed Church had each their clergy to represent them in opposition. Two days were spent in the debate, and after holding the matter under advisement for about three months the Board decided adversely to the Catholic petition. The legislature was now in session. It was decided to carry the matter there, and a memorial was presented to that body in behalf of the Catholic claims; arguments were heard on both sides, and it was thereupon voted to postpone the whole matter until the following session of the legislature,

so that the wishes of the people might be ascertained through the election to be held in the meantime.

The political campaign which followed was one of unusual bitterness. Catholics generally, and their Bishop in particular, were denounced in the newspapers as well as from the Protestant pulpits for their "persistent activity," as it was styled, while, on the other hand, Protestant voters were called upon to support no candidates for the legislature other than those who would pledge themselves to oppose the Catholic demands. To this Bishop Hughes retorted, saying to his people, "I wish you, therefore, to look well to your candidates, and if they are disposed to make infidels or Protestants of your children let them receive no vote of yours."\*

It was soon discovered that in both political parties nearly all the candidates for the legislature had pledged themselves to resist the Catholic claims. On October 29, 1842, four days before the election, as the only consistent alternative, the Catholics being assembled at Carroll Hall, nominated an independent ticket, which the Bishop in a public speech encouraged them to support. This participation of a Catholic Bishop and Catholic people in politics in defense of rights which none of the other parties would recognize, excited the wrath of the adherents of the Public School Society. Their newspaper organs, the *New York Herald* in particular, were unsparing in their denunciation of the Bishop as well as of Governor Seward, who was known to be his friend, and the Bishop was charged with attempting "to organize the Irish Catholics of New York as a distinct party that could be given to the Whigs or Locofocos at the wave of his crosier." The historian of the Public school society speaks of the Bishop's conduct as being considered "highly offensive and dangerous as a precedent and antagonistic to the spirit of our republican institutions."† Of course this independent ticket was not elected; it was not thought it could be, but it polled sufficient votes to show that the Catholics were in earnest in the desire to obtain justice,

\* Kehoe, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, Vol. I, p. 273.

† Bourne, *History of the Public School Society*, p. 481.

and it taught the political leaders the lesson that the votes of Catholics might, when occasion required, be cast on that side which was willing to concede fair play to Catholics. The outcome of all the agitation was that in the following legislature the control of the public school system was taken out of the hands of the Public School Society, and that institution was practically legislated out of existence, although the relief which the Catholics had petitioned for remained as far away as ever before. The active, even aggressive and courageous leadership which Bishop Hughes had assumed in this matter had endeared him to all his people, and had given him an influence over them of which the civil authorities in later and more critical times were glad to avail themselves. On the other hand it made him an object of hatred to all the elements composing the Native American body, and they paid their respects to him during the municipal election in April, 1844, by marching past his house in Mulberry street, throwing stones at it, and breaking some of the glass in the windows; later on they exposed him to attacks by the same element which had been burning the churches in Philadelphia. On the night of the election referred to, "some twelve hundred native Americans, yelling, groaning, and hooting, bearing illuminated banners inscribed with the words, 'No Popery,' and armed with canes and bludgeons, traversed the streets of the sixth and fourteenth wards—streets occupied almost wholly by Irish Catholics. The wish evidently was to provoke a riot, but the Irish, not often backward to accept an invitation to fight and never more bellicose than when their religion is insulted, remembered the Bishop's injunction and looked on in silence. . . . There were threats of burning some of the Catholic churches. This, he (the Bishop) resolved at all hazards should never be done; and so, as it was rumored that the men who paraded on election night proposed to attack the cathedral, some three or four thousand Catholics, among whom were the most prominent lay gentlemen of that denomination in the city—assembled in the churchyard armed to the teeth. The Native Americans did not make an attack "for a reason they had," said the *Freeman's Journal*.\*

\* Hassard, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, pp. 274-275.

In 1842, following upon the contest between Bishop Hughes and the Public School Society, and the political activities which that involved, the defunct American party of 1834 was revived and re-organized in New York City under the name of "American Republicans." They prepared and published a declaration of principles "which were the same as those of the party as it existed in 1834."\* Briefly stated these were that no one should be promoted to any office of honor, trust, or emolument, unless he were an American-born citizen, nor would the adherents of this party recognize or support for office any person who was "directly or indirectly subject to, or influenced by the laws or powers, temporal or spiritual, of any foreign prince, power, or potentate;" that they would press for an amendment of the naturalization laws which would require all foreign-born persons to remain at least twenty-one years within the jurisdiction of the United States, "before they shall be endowed with the birthright of native Americans, the elective franchise.† In the spring of 1843, this party, like its predecessor, nominated but failed to elect a municipal ticket in New York City. Meantime the Native American sentiment was being zealously propagated, and the movement extended to the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, New Orleans, and other cities, in each of which municipal tickets were proposed to the voters. Again in the year 1844 the American party nominated candidates for municipal offices, many of whom were elected. In New York City James Harper of Harper & Brothers, the publishers, was nominated as their candidate for mayor, and was elected. So also were a majority of the members of the two Boards of Common Council.‡

#### THE NATIVE AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN PHILADELPHIA—THE KENSINGTON RIOTS.

The contest in Philadelphia in May of that year was made memorable by the fatal conflicts which occurred in the Ken-

\* Whitney, *Defence*, etc., p. 244.

† *Ibid.*, p. 245.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

sington district between the Irish Catholics and the members of the American Republicans, which resulted in the burning of Catholic churches and other buildings used for religious purposes, the firing and wrecking of the homes of Catholics, and the shooting of inoffensive Catholics, mostly Irish, besides other outrages to be next referred to.

Some months before this fateful period Bishop Kenrick had petitioned the Philadelphia School Board to permit the Catholic pupils to use the Catholic version of Scripture when Scripture reading was required in the schools, and to exempt them from having to use the Protestant Bible. This would seem to have been a very modest and reasonable request, but in the then excited state of the public mind, due largely to the agitation in New York, the right or reason of the application was not considered. Instead, an outcry was raised in the press and pulpit that the Bishop designed to cast out the Bible altogether from the public schools. There had been a Native American movement organized in Philadelphia in 1837,\* but no great progress seems to have been made to extend the organization. In December, 1843, however, and when the Public School-Bible Question was being debated, the partisans of that movement held frequent meetings, and the movement spread so rapidly in that city that by May following a Native American association had been organized in nearly every ward.

The principles of the association were in substance:

1. A twenty-one year's residence in the country as a condition of naturalization.
2. The use of the Bible in the public schools as a non-sectarian work.
3. Opposition to any union of Church and State.
4. Only native Americans to be permitted to legislate, administer, or execute the laws of the country.

For years Catholicity in Philadelphia had suffered from the Hogan schism, the Church had been weakened, and its members had been spending, in internal dissensions, the energy which should have been devoted to the defence of their rights

\* Scharf, *History*, Vol. I, p. 663.

against the attacks to which they were so constantly subjected. Speaking of the condition of Catholics about this time a writer in the *Catholic Record* October, 1875, p. 334, says: "Catholics, though eminently respectable in point of talent, of virtuous life and genius, were by far in the minority and very weak in influence. . . . They were but few, scattered, downtrodden, downspirited, and looked on as outcasts and felons. To profess their religion was to invite a kind of social ostracism."

While the hostility to Catholics had not manifested itself in acts of violence, this was not from any lack of incitement. A committee of Evangelical ministers had been formed in Philadelphia who not only preached in their pulpits against the Church, but were narrow enough to publish a pamphlet in which they argued the sinfulness of giving employment to Catholics or of making any charitable donations in aid of Catholic orphans.

The Native Americans held their weekly meetings throughout the city, and speeches were delivered which were plainly calculated to inflame the public mind against the Irish immigrant and the Catholic Church. These meetings, and the newspaper abuse which was steadily kept up by the various organs of the Native American party, were undoubtedly a direct incitement to a breach of the peace, and were the real cause of the scenes of bloodshed, arson, and murder, into which the city was soon to be plunged. Nowadays, with a more enlightened civilization and with the strong arm of government more alert to suppress disorder without regard to the religious prejudices of any class, the promoters of such meetings would be apt to find themselves in the clutches of the police before they had had time to do the mischief they intended. The Philadelphia Catholics of that period were too weak and too poor to effectively resent the calumnies and other insults heaped upon them. The civil authorities, if not active sympathizers with the Native Americans, were content not to interfere, and thus it was that ten years after the burning of the Charlestown convent the second anti-Catholic campaign reached its climax in the Philadelphia riots.

On May 3, 1844, the first collision occurred between the partisans on either side, and this was the beginning of such a reign of terror as had never before been witnessed in any American city. In the Kensington district a meeting had been called especially to advocate the change in the naturalization laws which was the principal plank in the Native American platform. While the audience was assembled in an open square listening to the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish harangue of one of the speakers, the meeting was attacked and broken up. The newspapers of the day laid the blame for this interference on the Irish inhabitants living in the neighborhood. The persons in charge of the meeting thereupon resolved to hold another meeting on the following Monday, May 6th. On this day the "Nativists" assembled at a market square not far distant from the house occupied by the Hibernian Hose Company, and it was apparent that the re-organization of the meeting would be resisted by an excited crowd who were opposed to the Native Americans. A street quarrel soon arose and a pistol-shot was fired. Very soon other shots were fired which were observed to come from the upper story of the Hibernian Hose Company's building, and from the upper stories of other houses in the neighborhood. A running fight in the streets was soon in progress, shots from both sides being exchanged. During this fight a lad named George Shiffler, eighteen years of age, was mortally wounded and died soon afterwards, and eleven other persons, all of them Americans, were wounded, but recovered. The news of this encounter created great excitement throughout the city, and toward evening many persons visited the scene and attacks were made late at night upon the houses occupied by the Irish Catholics as well as upon the school of the Sisters of Charity, nicknamed "the nunnery," at the corner of Second and Felix Streets. During these attacks two spectators were shot, one dying instantly, and the other a few days afterwards. The next morning the town was in a fever of excitement over the events of the preceding day. The newspapers published a call for a meeting of citizens to be held that afternoon in the State House yard, and handbills were

posted in various places notifying the public of this meeting and containing the words, "Let every man come prepared to defend himself."\* A great crowd attended this meeting, and inflammatory speeches were made by some of the Native Americans orators, and resolutions passed re-affirming the principles of the Native American party. Moreover it was voted to adjourn the meeting at once to a point in Kensington near where the collision of the preceding day had occurred. The crowd made its way there and an attempt was made to hoist an American flag. "As this was being done," says the historian (*Ibid*, p. 665), "a volley of musketry was poured into the meeting from the Hibernia Hose House." Thereupon the persons connected with the meeting made an attack upon the hose house, broke it open and ran out the hose carriage, which was destroyed, and set the house on fire, the flames spreading to other buildings. From other houses guns were fired upon the people below, four Americans being killed on the spot and others wounded, two of them so severely that they died shortly after. Two Irishmen accused of participation in the shooting were beaten and left for dead, but recovered afterwards, and an inoffensive man, a Catholic, was shot dead at his doorstep. Meantime the fire had extended and thirty houses in all were destroyed besides the market known as 'the nanny-goat market'."

On the day before this outbreak the sheriff had sought to obtain the services of the militia to preserve the peace and to save the lives and property of the citizens which were in danger, but unsuccessfully. Again on Tuesday (the 7th) he repeated this request and toward evening troops came upon the ground. By the evening of May 8th the energy of the mob seemed to have been exhausted. The militia had been withdrawn and the firemen were at work checking the further progress of the flames.

Meantime, however, the activities of the mob seemed to have been revived. Fresh fires were started in various dwelling-houses in the neighborhood, and many of the Irish inhabitants

\* Scharf and Westcott, *History*, Vol. I, p. 665.



were removing their goods and abandoning their homes. The rioters next directed their attention to St. Michael's Church, at the corner of Second and Jefferson Streets, which they broke into and searched to find the arms which they pretended had been concealed there. Disappointed in their search they then set fire to the church and the pastoral residence adjoining. These were soon reduced to ashes. Some frame buildings standing near-by, the homes of Irish Catholics, were likewise set on fire and destroyed. The school and convent of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin which had been erected on the church lot met the same fate. Threats and other hostile demonstrations had been made the day before against this "nunnery," and the Sisters, apprehending the danger, had vacated it some time before. This community had been established some years previously by Father T. J. Donaghoe, the pastor of St. Michael's, the first members being young women whom he brought from Ireland.\*

The house of Alderman Hugh Clark, a prominent Catholic Irishman, was attacked, the doors and windows broken, the house entered and the furniture thrown into the street. Only the timely interference by the militia saved it from being set on fire. Other houses in the same Kensington district which were known to be occupied by Roman Catholic or Irish families were also set on fire at this same time.

Meantime the rumor spread that the church of St. Augustine, situated in another part of the city, was next to be attacked by the mob, and a great crowd gathered in its neighborhood. This church, one of the oldest in the city, was in charge of the Augustinian Fathers. Its corner-stone had been laid in 1796, and among those who subscribed for its construction were George Washington, Commodore John Barry, Thomas Fitzsimmons, one of the signers, and Stephen Girard. In ex-

\* Historical Sketches of the Catholic Churches of Philadelphia, p. 57. These Religious, upon their home being destroyed, removed to Dubuque, Ia., where they secured that shelter and protection of which they had been deprived in the "City of Brotherly Love."

pectation of trouble, troops and police were assembled on the ground. For a time no demonstration was made by the crowd, but while the presence of the militia and police seemed to be a preventive of further disorder, some persons had stealthily entered the church and kindled a fire the light of which was soon noticed. Very soon the whole structure was in a blaze. No efforts were made to extinguish the fire, says the historian, and little by little the flames rose until the cross which crowned the steeple fell in amid the yells and exultations of the mob in the street. Although the firemen were present with their apparatus no attempt was made by them to save the church. Instead, they devoted their efforts to prevent the fire reaching the property of non-Catholics. Indeed the conduct of the American firemen of those days, as at the time of the Charlestown burning, showed how completely they sympathized with the unlawful purposes of the mob. Nothing was left of the building except the blackened walls, and through the window spaces in these ruined walls the curious crowd next day read the remarkable words which had not been obliterated by the fire, and which had been painted over the high altar, "The Lord Seeth." Besides the church the monastery of the Augustinians adjoining, together with their splendid library and a school-house situated on Crown Street were all burned to the ground. This school-house some few years before had served as an hospital for the cholera patients who, irrespective of creed, had been nursed by the Sisters of Charity, but the fanaticism of the Philadelphia mob was not to be restrained by any such consideration. When the fire had thus exhausted itself additional troops came in from the Kensington district and were distributed through the city for the protection of the other Catholic churches. The churches of St. John the Evangelist, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. Patrick's were among the ones thus guarded. In addition, as soon as the attack on St. Augustine's became known, a brave Catholic physician, Dr. L. Stokes, rode on horseback through the parish of St. Patrick's calling for volunteers to defend that church, and a company was formed who were supplied with arms by the city authorities

and remained on guard in the church for over a week.\* Besides the militia thus called into service the marines from the United States Steamship "Princeton" were landed for duty in case they were needed.

On May 9th, Governor Porter arrived in the city, and issued his proclamation calling for further volunteers to act with the sheriff in preserving order and to protect the lives and property of the citizens. Next day Bishop Kenrick issued a notice to the Catholics of Philadelphia, declaring it to be his duty "to suspend the exercises of public worship in the Catholic churches which still remain until it can be resumed in safety, and we can enjoy our constitutional right to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience,"† and, accordingly, on Sunday, May 12th, the Catholic churches were closed.

As soon as the excitement had subsided a committee of citizens headed by the distinguished lawyer Horace Binney drew up and presented an address to the Governor, approving his course in calling out the militia, and asserting "that in cases where the militia operations had resulted in wounds and death of citizens passing, that such wounds and death were in law and conscience occasioned by the insurgents and by them only."

This declaration was severely critized by the Native American party and was replied to by a presentment by the grand jury made up of Native Americans, which laid the entire blame upon the Irish and Catholics and attributed it to their efforts to exclude the Bible from public schools. This in turn was met by a remonstrance issued by a committee of Catholic citizens headed by Hon. Archibald Randall, Judge of the United States District Court, which was entitled "An Address of the Catholic laity of Philadelphia" in which it was denied that the Catholics had commenced or provoked the disturbances and which set forth that they had not sought to interfere with the reading of the Bible by Protestant children. The

\* In the destruction of St. Augustine's the mob was led by a renegade Catholic who, together with his family, a few years later met a sudden death by drowning in the Delaware River. See *Historical Sketches*, etc., p. 48.

† Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. IV, p. 52.

notoriety thus acquired by the Native American party had the effect of largely increasing its numbers. It was estimated that up to that time there were not more than five hundred legal voters in Philadelphia who had identified themselves with it. Now that the party spirit had been aroused, many thousands of new members had become attached to the organization and so enthusiastic had the members become that it was decided to hold a celebration on the following fourth of July. As many as fifty societies, comprising about 4,500 people, participated in this celebration. Delegates came from many different States, to take part and it was declared to be the finest political procession that had ever been seen in Philadelphia. In the evening there was a display of fireworks. The day passed without any disturbances or interference, but the celebration was not destined to be completed without a recurrence of the trouble witnessed in the preceding month of May. On the afternoon of the following day, July 5th, it was observed that a number of muskets were carried into the church of St. Philip Neri, on Queen Street, in the district of Southwark, which contained a population made up to a considerable extent of members of the Native American party and their families and sympathizers, and the rumor spread that these weapons were to be used in an attack upon the Native American population. This discovery created excitement, and upon demand of some of the citizens the church was searched by the sheriff accompanied by two of the aldermen, who brought out twelve unloaded muskets which had been taken into the church earlier in the day. A second search was insisted on, and was made, and this resulted in the finding of seventy-five additional muskets heavily loaded, together with a number of axes, pistols, knives, a keg of powder, and some bayonets fastened on poles to be used as pikes. This somewhat ugly discovery was explained as follows:

The burning of St. Augustine's and St. Michael's churches had naturally created alarm among the different Catholic congregations for the safety of their church property and committees of defence were formed in various parishes. Among these

a company of some forty to fifty members had been organized for the defence of the church of St. Philip Neri under the command of a brother of Father Dunn, the pastor. On his application Governor Porter had regularly commissioned him as a captain of a volunteer company, and by like authorization a quantity of muskets had been delivered from the arsenal for the use of the company. In anticipation of some attack by the Native Americans as a climax to their celebration of the fourth of July, most of the Catholic churches were garrisoned by these volunteer defenders, and at St. Philip Neri's about one hundred and fifty men were assembled and had spent the night in the church, prepared to resist any attack. The muskets which were seen to be carried into the church were defective ones among those supplied from the arsenal which had been sent out for repairs and were being returned. The discovery of these munitions of war increased the excitement and drew a large crowd to the neighborhood of the church. The city guards were ordered to the scene and were re-enforced by a number of volunteer companies, including the Montgomery Hibernia Greens composed almost wholly of Irish Catholics. The crowd taunted the soldiers, threw stones at them, and refused to disperse. Finally, under much provocation, General Cadwalader gave orders to his men to fire. One individual, Ex-Congressman Naylor, who with human purpose succeeded in thwarting this action, was put under arrest, taken into the church and held there as a military prisoner. Toward midnight the mob dispersed, and the militia were dismissed with the exception of a few companies including the Montgomery Hibernia Greens.

On the following day, Sunday, July 7th, the crowd re-assembled in the neighborhood of the church. Some of the ringleaders had procured a small cannon loaded with slugs and nails, which they discharged against the church. Another similar piece was brought up and set in position and directed toward the side of the church. Some of the more prominent Native Americans, including the notorious Lewis C. Levin,\*

\* This Levin was the editor of the *Daily Sun*, the Native American organ in Philadelphia. He is described by Archbishop Spalding (Miscellanea).

went among the crowd, urging them to desist from further hostile proceedings. These men discovered that they had excited the passions of their degraded followers so that the peace of the entire city was disturbed—the lives and property of citizens were in jeopardy, and the continuance of the disorders would be apt to recoil on the heads of those who had originated it. But the mob was in no humor for compromise. They wanted Naylor released, and they brought up a large piece of timber which they used as a battering-ram and broke in the front door of the church. Naylor was at once released by order of one of the aldermen, and immediately from the steps of the church he addressed the crowd, entreating them to refrain from any further disorder and repair to their homes. Furthermore the leaders of the mob demanded that the military company, the Hibernia Greens, who were then in possession of the church, should be withdrawn, proposing that they, themselves, would take charge of the building and would protect it against further attack. The Greens as they were called then, filed out of the church and were received with hootings and yells, and stones and brickbats were thrown at them as they marched away. Soon a shot was fired into the crowd by one of the Greens, who were immediately pursued and attacked and several of them were beaten. Thus, one incident succeeding another, the public excitement was maintained. Great crowds of people came in the afternoon to the neighborhood of the church, where leading Native Americans were also present expostulating with the mob for whose violence, they, themselves, were chiefly responsible. But the mob was not to be controlled, and the battering-ram which had done duty in the forenoon against the front door of the church was again drawn into service and was driven through the side wall (of brick) and an opening made through which the crowd entered. Doors and windows were broken and other damage done. That night the Native Americans remained in possession of the church and premises.

p. 611), as "a notorious demagogue, a renegade English Jew," and he was well-known throughout the country as a most unprincipled agitator for the political and religious proscription of Catholics.

But the end was not yet. The attack which had been made earlier in the day upon the Hibernia Greens having been reported, the soldiers were again called out and by seven o'clock that evening were marched toward the church with orders to clear the street. Presently the church was reached and the building was taken charge of by the military company. Angry words had already been exchanged between the citizens and the military; bricks and stones followed, which were thrown from the crowd, and some of the soldiers were struck and knocked down. The captain of one of the companies was seized and an attempt was made to take his sword from him. Then he gave an order to fire, which was obeyed. At least four persons were killed outright and others, including some women, were seriously wounded. The crowd managed to secure possession of the muskets and guns which had been removed from the church and used them against the military, and a pitched battle ensued, the soldiers being fired at from the neighboring houses, streets, and alleys. Several pieces of cannon were brought up by the rioters, and were fired at the military who replied with fire from their own guns. Meantime in response to a general alarm, all the military had been assembled at the state house and at ten o'clock that night two regiments were marched to the church, accompanied by three pieces of artillery. The rioters quietly moved their guns to an unsuspected place, and again discharged them at the military, several of whom, including some officers, were instantly killed. At eleven o'clock more troops arrived and firing was kept up until the military had succeeded in capturing the guns of the rioters. By morning peace was restored. Although the precise number of those who were killed and wounded could not be definitely ascertained, it was known that at least fifteen persons were killed outright in this mimic war. The arrival of the governor with fresh troops had the effect of preventing any further outbreak. Altogether about 5,000 troops were under arms in the city of Philadelphia at this time. Within the next two or three weeks these were gradually withdrawn and peace was finally restored.

Elsewhere we have referred to the identity of the principles

and practises of the Native American associations and those professed and practised by the Orange lodges. The Philadelphia mob, while consisting mainly of Native Americans, was supplemented by Orangemen whose presence was shown most unmistakably. In an interesting note in *Miscellanea*, p. 611, Archbishop Spaulding says: "Though the party (the Native American) affected to assail foreigners, yet Irish Orangemen and other bitter foreign enemies of Catholicity were among its most conspicuous and active members; a dirty Orange flag was placed on the top of the market-house during the Kensington riots; the violent Orange air, 'The Boyne Water' was played in triumph while the flames were consuming St. Michael's Church, and a notorious Orangeman was actually paraded through the streets of Philadelphia in the 'temple of liberty' which was carried in procession on the fourth of July. The speeches of Levin and those of the other leaders teemed with abuse of Catholics; this, in fact, was the main staple in which those fiendish demagogues dealt in order to inflame public resentment."

Gloating over their success in their own city the Philadelphia Native Americans planned to send a delegation to New York and a public meeting was called to assemble in the City Hall Park in the latter city to welcome the visitors and to celebrate the triumph of Native American principles. Bishop Hughes at once caused a notice to be published warning the Irish to keep away from this meeting, and he called on the Mayor (Morris) whose successor (Harper) had just been elected and warned him against the danger of allowing the proposed demonstration to take place.

"Are you afraid," asked the Mayor, "that some of your churches will be burned?"

"No, sir," answered the Bishop, "but I am afraid that some of *yours* will be burned. We can protect our own. I came to warn you for your own good."\*

The Native Americans took alarm, and posters were issued containing a notification that the meeting to welcome the Phila-

\* Hassard, *Life of Bishop Hughes*, pp. 277-278.



delphia delegation would not take place. The visitors arrived, but there was no public reception and no demonstration. The Natives kept discreetly quiet and there was no disturbance.

THE ORDER OF UNITED AMERICANS—NATIVE AMERICAN  
PARTY—UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS OF  
THE UNITED STATES.

No feature of the various anti-Catholic movements recurs more frequently than the effort of the leaders to organize their followers into orders and associations. The real purpose of these societies was generally concealed under patriotic and high-sounding titles, and an air of mystery was thrown around them by the use of fantastic names designating their officers, by secret meetings, grips, and passwords and the other accompaniments of secret societies, including the oath-bound pledge not to disclose their proceedings. Of these orders and their meetings and proceedings and the ends at which they aimed it may be stated broadly that they were, to say the least, unpatriotic and generally unlawful, if not, sometimes, positively criminal. While the members professed a deep solicitude for the Republic and the most profound respect for its Constitution, their time and energies were spent chiefly in devising ways of carrying on a religious proscription against Catholics (contrary to law) and of depriving foreign-born citizens of the rights which had been guaranteed to them by the Constitution. Not infrequently their allies in the ministry advocated the establishment of a State Church, not from any love of religion but as a means of hindering, if not exterminating, that Church whose progress they were unable otherwise to prevent. The membership of these orders especially in the cities (for it was here they flourished), was drawn from the ignorant and illiterate classes, and was just such material as could be kept well in hand by their crafty leaders so that their votes could be controlled on election day. No sooner did an anti-Catholic sentiment manifest itself to any extent, than its partisans were at once

went among the crowd, urging them to desist from further hostile proceedings. These men discovered that they had excited the passions of their degraded followers so that the peace of the entire city was disturbed—the lives and property of citizens were in jeopardy, and the continuance of the disorders would be apt to recoil on the heads of those who had originated it. But the mob was in no humor for compromise. They wanted Naylor released, and they brought up a large piece of timber which they used as a battering-ram and broke in the front door of the church. Naylor was at once released by order of one of the aldermen, and immediately from the steps of the church he addressed the crowd, entreating them to refrain from any further disorder and repair to their homes. Furthermore the leaders of the mob demanded that the military company, the Hibernia Greens, who were then in possession of the church, should be withdrawn, proposing that they, themselves, would take charge of the building and would protect it against further attack. The Greens as they were called then, filed out of the church and were received with hootings and yells, and stones and brickbats were thrown at them as they marched away. Soon a shot was fired into the crowd by one of the Greens, who were immediately pursued and attacked and several of them were beaten. Thus, one incident succeeding another, the public excitement was maintained. Great crowds of people came in the afternoon to the neighborhood of the church, where leading Native Americans were also present expostulating with the mob for whose violence, they, themselves, were chiefly responsible. But the mob was not to be controlled, and the battering-ram which had done duty in the forenoon against the front door of the church was again drawn into service and was driven through the side wall (of brick) and an opening made through which the crowd entered. Doors and windows were broken and other damage done. That night the Native Americans remained in possession of the church and premises.

p. 611), as "a notorious demagogue, a renegade English Jew," and he was well-known throughout the country as a most unprincipled agitator for the political and religious proscription of Catholics.

The old Constitution provided that no one should be eligible to the office of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the State unless he were a native born citizen. It likewise disqualified all ministers of religion from holding any political office whatever, and under its provisions the judges of the various courts acquired their office by appointment. The new Constitution removed these disqualifications from ministers of religion and naturalized citizens, and provided for an elective judiciary, and these amendments were adopted by the popular vote of the whole State, although in the city of New York where the order was strongest, it succeeded in rolling up a majority of 20,000 votes against them.

In national politics the influence of the order had been thrown in the presidential election in 1844 in favor of Henry Clay for President and Theodore Frelinghuysen for Vice-President, who were the nominees of the Whig party. Henry Clay, "master and victim of the art of compromise" was the most prominent Whig in his party, and he had on more than one occasion shown his anti-alien prejudice. As a champion of the United States Bank in its struggle with Andrew Jackson he had ranged himself on the side of monopoly and exclusiveness, and it seems probable that he was in sympathy with the "Native Americanism" of that time. Theodore Frelinghuysen, his associate on the ticket, was President of the American Board of Foreign Missions and a leading member of the American Bible Society. As a member of Congress he had championed the bill to prevent the carrying of the mails on Sunday and had argued the right of the majority to establish a "political religion" (Evangelical Christianity, of course), to which the minority must submit. His hostility to Catholics and to their religion was as well known as was Clay's opposition to admitting alien residents to citizenship. Brownson spoke of Frelinghuysen as "the very impersonation of narrow-minded, ignorant, conceited bigotry."

With the fires of the burned churches in Philadelphia scarcely extinguished (barely four months had elapsed since the July riots had occurred), with the memory of innocent men

and women driven from their burning homes, some of them meeting their death at the hands of the same element which sought to elect Clay and Frelinghuysen, it is not to be wondered at that the Catholic voters, as well as all naturalized citizens, should have been arrayed against them and their defeat accomplished. James K. Polk, the candidate of the Democratic party, was placed in the Presidential chair, but the Natives succeeded in electing six members of Congress—three from New York and two from Pennsylvania,\* who took their seats as avowed representatives of the Native American party. While there had been numerous local organizations in different cities of those who professed Native American principles no national organization had, as yet, been attempted. In the judgment of the leaders the time had arrived for the formation of such a party, and accordingly a convention of "American Republicans" was held in the city of Philadelphia on July 4, 1845. A "declaration of principles" was adopted, embracing the same general features as those of the local societies, and the title of the organization was changed from "American Republicans" to that of "Native Americans" and it was thereafter known by the formal title of the "Native American Party." In the same year two other societies, composed of the Native American element, were formed in Philadelphia, one "the United Sons of America," and the other the "United American Mechanics of the United States," but these were simply offshoots of the main body. Both were secret societies and were designed to exert political and social influence against foreign-born citizens and Catholics.

The people of the rural districts, however, did not take kindly to the new national party. The coalition which was attempted to be made between its leaders and those of the older political parties was ineffective, and was soon succeeded by the active hostility of the politicians of both parties. The "Natives" decided to abandon the field of national politics and, says the historian of the party (*Defence*, supra. p. 256), the local organizations "continued their efforts until 1847 when, with the

\* Cooper, American Politics, Book I, p. 54.

exception of that in the city of Philadelphia, they were all finally abandoned. The American party was a second time in its slumber."

One of the incidents of the period to which our narrative has brought us (1847), was the famous newspaper controversy between Bishop Hughes and Rev. Nicholas Murray, a Presbyterian clergyman then stationed at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, who wrote under the name of "Kirwan." Professing a great anxiety to free his Roman Catholic and Irish fellow-countrymen from the "bondage of Rome" as he styled it, Rev. Mr. Murray wrote a series of letters which he addressed to the Bishop, in which he attacked the doctrines and practices of the Church, and he challenged the latter to answer his charges. These letters were published in the *New York Observer*, and the Bishop replied to them in ten letters which appeared in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*. Later on the same Mr. Murray published a number of letters under the caption, "Romanism at Home." These he addressed to Chief Justice Taney, doubtless in the hope that a reply from such another distinguished Catholic adversary would dignify his worthless productions, but this hope was not realized. The "Kirwan" letters were afterwards collected in a volume, and published by Harper & Brothers, and form part of the anti-Catholic literature which was so industriously disseminated by the enemies of the Church.

Murray was an Irish lad born of Catholic parents, and was baptized and confirmed and made his first communion in his parish church in Ireland. At the age of sixteen he left home and landing in New York in 1818, found employment with the firm of Harper & Brothers, was lodged under their roof, and became an attendant at the John Street Methodist Church. He was sent to Williams College, where he spent several years. Next he became an agent for the American Tract Society and later spent some time in the theological seminary at Princeton after leaving which he became a licensed minister of the Presbyterian Church. He left certain memoirs which were published by his former employers, the Harpers, in which he described

his attendance at Mass at St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street where he went "to witness the administration of the Eucharist." This he characterizes (p. 30) as "an impious, priestly hoax," and in ridiculing the doctrine of purgatory he had not the decency to refrain from mentioning that his own father's soul had been prayed for from the altar in his parish chapel!

IMMIGRATION DURING THE PERIOD 1840 TO 1850—ITS  
INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS—DEVELOPMENT  
OF KNOW-NOTHING SENTIMENT.

Meantime the emigration from Europe had been steadily maintained. As appears by the official census reports during the decade 1840 to 1850 the number of immigrants received at our ports was 1,151,850 or nearly double the number arriving during the preceding decade. This large increase was due to two principal causes, viz., first, the "Irish exodus" as it was called, following on the famine in 1846, and second, the revolutionary movements in Germany, Italy, and other European states, which sent many of the revolutionists into exile. Many of these political exiles seemed to think that American liberty implied a license to continue on American soil the agitation for which they had been compelled to leave their mother country. Societies were organized composed exclusively of the newcomers, as, for example, the "Free Germans" as they styled themselves, who in a few years were numerous enough to hold conventions, and formulate political platforms, in which all religion was assailed and theories of government advanced which were impossible of accomplishment under our Constitution. Many military organizations were also formed, composed exclusively of foreign-born citizens or residents such as the German Jaegers, French Chasseurs, Irish Greens, Swiss Guards, and the like.

The tendency of the Irish immigrants to establish societies composed of men from the several counties in Ireland was likewise observed. Many of these were secret and oath-bound, and so serious had this evil become that Bishop Hughes, in one

of his pastorals, severely denounced them. "It was generally supposed by Protestants," says Hassard, "that the Bishop aimed this regulation at the Freemasons, Odd Fellows, and kindred associations. He afterwards explained that these had not been in his mind at the time; he referred chiefly to the famous Irish Societies of 'Corkonians' and 'Connaughtmen' or 'Far-ups' and 'Far-downs,' whose factional riots and disturbances were then more widely celebrated than they are now;" and the author from whom we quote tells of the reports brought to the Bishop of the excesses committed by the adherents of these different societies which provoked his censure.\*

Another feature of the immigration going on at the period referred to, consisted in this, that many criminals and paupers were taken out of the prisons and poorhouses chiefly of the smaller German states and were deliberately shipped to this country—their expenses being paid by the municipalities or officials who thus got rid of their undesirable charges. In like manner many paupers were "assisted" to America from the workhouses of England and Wales. One glaring instance is given (*Niles Register*, Vol. IV., p. 46) where two hundred and sixty Hessian convicts were brought into the port of Baltimore with manacles and fetters remaining on their hands and feet until the day after their arrival, and many similar instances might be enumerated. On March 3, 1845, the Senate Judiciary Committee presented a report containing abundant evidence to show that England and Scotland had deported their paupers to this country, and that various small German states had paid the passage of many of their convicts, who had been permitted to choose whether they would serve out their sentences in jail or emigrate to America.†

While the total of these objectionable immigrants was inconsiderable as compared with the immense stream of immigration then pouring in, yet their antecedents and the circumstances under which they were delivered on our shores were

\* Life of Archbishop Hughes, pp. 258-259.

† Senate Document, No. 173, 28th Congress, Second session cited in *Republican Landmarks*, p. 61.

used by the Native American element as an argument against the admission of any alien to citizenship except after a residence of twenty-one years. Such a condition, in view of the average duration of human life, meant practically the entire exclusion from citizenship of the great majority of immigrants, no matter how fit and capable they might be, nor what service they might render in developing the resources of their adopted country. And (what was really aimed at) Irish Catholic immigrants who constituted the largest proportion of the whole number would be the principal victims of such a policy.

The amendment of the naturalization laws was steadily agitated, and petitions and memorials were presented to one Congress after another, asking that the period of residence be extended to twenty-one years, as a condition of naturalization. The defeat of Henry Clay was a bitter disappointment to his supporters, including the "Natives," who had entertained strong hopes of recovering political power and influence through his election, and in the press and at their assemblages they charged their defeat squarely to the "foreign" and Catholic voters in New York, whose electoral vote had turned the scale in favor of Polk.

At a Whig meeting in Faneuil Hall in November, 1844, immediately following the election, Daniel Webster, then Senator from Massachusetts, charged that there had been fraudulent voting in New York by naturalized citizens and he attributed the Whig defeat to this cause.\*

Charges of fraudulent naturalization and of fraudulent voting, especially in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans were presented to Congress, and a committee was appointed to investigate these charges. Much testimony was taken tending to show that fraud had been committed both in the issuing of naturalization papers and in the use of these certificates at the polls, but the committee refrained from making any finding or recommendation on the subject. Nevertheless, the proceedings of the committee and the publication of the evidence by order of Congress served to keep up the anti-

\* Niles Register, Vol. LXVII, p. 172.



foreign agitation—"anti-foreign" being generally understood as synonymous with anti-Catholic. In fact, during the period which we have been describing the country was in a constant ferment over the political questions which were at issue between the contending parties. From time to time, and with increasing frequency, the slavery question loomed up formidable and alarming, and, even in those days, threatening the disruption of the Union. Other questions arose, such as the erection of territorial governments and the admission of the territories as States of the Union, the disposition of the public lands under Homestead and Pre-emption laws, and whether alien residents should enjoy any of the rights or privileges secured by these measures—the war with Mexico (a Catholic State), and the political manœuvring which attended that event, all of which served to keep the public mind steadily excited. The defeat of Clay in 1844 was followed in 1848 by the victory of the Whigs, who elected their candidate, General Zachary Taylor. Four years later the Whigs fought their last political battle as a party and were defeated, the Democrats electing their candidate, Franklin Pierce.

Meanwhile the steady growth of Catholicity was manifested by the erection of new churches, which were filled as soon as they were opened for divine service, by the increase in the number of the clergy, and the erection of new dioceses, keeping pace with the growing population, and these and similar evidences of Catholic progress were proclaimed by the sectarian press as signs of the danger to which our free institutions were being exposed; the Native American orators and newspapers kept up their attacks on the Church, and as far as these organs of sectarian bitterness could accomplish, Catholics were made odious to their fellow-citizens.

Such were the conditions leading up to the formation of the new Know-Nothing party which was soon to be formally organized. The leaders relied upon their ability to bring into their ranks the adherents of the Native American party as well as a large body of the followers of the Whig party—which was approaching its dissolution. The anti-foreign and anti-

Catholic prejudice which was the animating principle of the new party was in full vigor, and it would have been remarkable if this were not accompanied by violence and outbreaks showing the unlawful purposes and methods of the movement which later on came to be known by the name of Know-Nothingism.

New England, as usual, contained a large proportion of this aggressive element, which was being worked up into the new party and in that section, more persistently and more continuously than anywhere else, the anti-Catholic crusade was carried on. It would be impossible within the limitations of our paper to assemble all the instances of aggression against Catholics which were recorded as occurring about this time; the following, however, may be taken as typical instances.

**THE KNOW-NOTHING SPIRIT IN NEW ENGLAND—THREATENED  
ATTACK ON THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN HARTFORD.**

In 1851 the lamented Bernard O'Reilly, second Bishop of Hartford, invited the Sisters of Mercy to establish themselves in his diocese, and Mother M. Xavier Warde, a woman of saintly life, the Foundress of the Order in the United States who had just resigned her office as Superior of the original foundation at Pittsburg, was chosen to come in person in response to the Bishop's call. By his letter of invitation the Bishop had stipulated that the Religious who should be sent to take charge of the new foundation should be "a woman of prayer, tact, and good judgment, for bigotry was rife in Providence at that time and it was expected that she and her community would be exposed to some degree of persecution."\*

Mother Xavier scarcely needed to be reminded of the possibility of religious persecution nor of the hardships that might involve for, in Pittsburg, only a few years before, she and her Sisters had been compelled to go about in secular garb to escape the insults of the Native American mob and they had been denied admission to the poorhouse and the penitentiary, whose inmates would have welcomed their kindly ministrations.

\* Life of Mother M. Xavier Warde. By the Sisters of Mercy, Manchester, N. H., p. 163.

The expectations of the Bishop were fully realized. Arriving at Providence, the Sisters were received stealthily. "Indeed," says the *Annalist*,\* "had these women been guilty of some dreadful crime, more pains could not have been taken by their friends to isolate them." No sooner had the Sisters taken possession of their poor little cottage on Weybosset Street than the mob gathered and broke all the windows and hooted at the inmates. Time and again this happened and, says the compiler of the *Annals*, "one bright midnight the glass and sashes of every window were shattered. The inveterate hatred of the benighted people among whom their lot was cast never slumbered. Whenever they appeared on the streets their lives were in danger." To have their clothing soiled with mud or marked with chalked crosses was no uncommon experience. On one occasion as two Sisters were going to one of the out-schools near New Haven they were met by a party of Yale students, and one of the Sisters, who is described as 'large and portly,' was lifted bodily from the ground and carried by a student some distance to a street corner, where he suddenly "dumped" her as he said, and won his wager!†

But there were other manifestations, of more import, of the increasing bigotry of the times. The conversion of a Protestant lady, the daughter of an American family of prominence and social rank in Providence who had opposed her change of religion, and the admission of this lady to the convent by Mother Warde furnished a pretext. The Know-Nothings summoned their forces to assemble and deliver their countrywoman from imprisonment in the convent dungeon, and the town was placarded with signs reading: "To the rescue! All true Americans, Attention! To the Destruction of the Nunnery!" No concealment was made of their intention to destroy the convent. The subject was talked of publicly, and a night appointed when, as they thought, they could carry out their threats; and the Sisters passing in the streets were saluted with the threat, "We'll give you Charlestown." Meantime the convert, a Miss

\* Leaves from the *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 388.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4.

Newell, was being visited daily by her Protestant friends, who besought her to leave the convent. This she refused to do, and Mother Warde on being asked to send her away unhesitatingly declined.

The Mayor of the city, whose conduct showed his sympathy with the purposes of the mob became alarmed at the possibility of trouble, and he called on Mother Warde and requested that she dismiss Miss Newell and next that she and her community leave Providence. He added that ten thousand Know-Nothings from different parts of New England were soon to arrive, and that they would destroy the convent. Mother Warde protested that the Sisters had given no cause for interference and were entitled to be protected in their persons and property, and declared that she and her Sisters intended to remain. The Mayor departed saying that he could not answer for the mob.

A few days later on the appointed evening the Providence Know-Nothings came several hundred strong, reinforced by their fellow-conspirators from Boston, Salem, and other places. All were fully armed, and they brought with them some kegs of powder to be used to demolish the convent. As was afterwards learned, the Bishop's house and various churches and schools were to share the same fate.\*

But the lesson of the Charlestown convent had not been wasted on Bishop O'Reilly or his flock. The Governor as well as the Mayor had already been appealed to for protection, but not the slightest effort was made by any of the civil authorities to furnish any protection for life or property so openly threatened. In this emergency the Catholics of Providence did the only sensible thing which was left for them to do. Toward evening various bodies of Catholic men, mostly stalwart Irishmen, made their way toward the convent and stationed themselves in no inconspicuous way in and about the grounds and at the approaches to the building, determined and prepared to repel any violence that might be attempted. Their coming had been observed, and the news quickly spread that

\* Leaves from the *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, pp. 169-172.

even the slightest attack on the convent would be met and resisted, to death if needs be. The Bishop moved about among his people, and spoke a few words to the rioters, telling them bluntly that the Sisters should not leave the convent for even an hour and that he, too, would defend them with his heart's blood, if necessary. A Protestant gentleman, a Mr. Stead, addressed the crowd, warning them of the danger to themselves in case they made any attack, and advising them to abandon their unlawful designs and disperse. The presence of this resolute body of Catholics under wise leadership, determined to protect their property even to the shedding of blood, was an interference as unexpected by the Know-Nothings as it was embarrassing, and their ardor to rescue a convert who refused to be rescued suddenly abated. They kept up a constant hooting and yelling, but not a shot was fired nor any actual violence attempted and after parleying among themselves they concluded not to molest the convent. As the night wore on and the defenders of the convent showed no inclination to withdraw, the would-be rioters gradually moved off, and by midnight all had disappeared from the neighborhood. No attempt was made to re-assemble the mob or to organize any further demonstration against the convent. No doubt the courageous action of the Providence Catholics on this occasion averted a repetition of the disgraceful scenes which had occurred only a few years before in Philadelphia as well as at an earlier date at Charlestown.

#### ANTI-CATHOLIC SENTIMENT IN THE ARMY AND NAVY.

Another form of religious intolerance which was somewhat prevalent was that exhibited in the treatment of our soldiers and sailors while actually engaged in their country's service. On Sunday, May 28, 1851, twenty-one Catholic soldiers were ordered to march into the chapel at Fort Columbus on Governor's Island in New York harbor, there to attend public Protestant worship. They refused to obey this unlawful order and were at once imprisoned. One of them, Private James

Duggan, who deserves to be recorded as a hero for conscience's sake, was put on trial on the charge of "disobedience of orders."

The court martial was presided over by Col. J. L. Gardiner, an officer of pronounced anti-Catholic sentiments; the "disobedience" proved against the Catholic soldier was that he had refused to participate in the religious services conducted by the Protestant chaplain. Upon this single accusation the finding and sentence of the court were as follows: "The court finds the prisoner guilty as charged, and does sentence him, James Duggan, to forfeit to the United States \$5 of his pay per month for six months; two months in solitary confinement on bread and water; the other four at hard labor with ball and chain at his leg."

The findings of the court, including this ferocious sentence, were reported to Major-General John E. Wood, then Commandant in the East, who, instead of annulling the whole proceeding as a flagrant invasion of the rights of conscience to which the soldier, not less than every other citizen was entitled, approved the findings of "guilty" and so much of the sentence as punished poor Duggan with the loss of his pay for his supposed "insubordination." Meantime the affair had attracted public attention, not less on account of the principle which was involved in the attempt to coerce a Catholic soldier into attendance at Protestant worship than because of the severity of the punishment which Gardiner had imposed.

Bishop Hughes was at this time in Europe, and his voice could not be heard in denunciation of the wrong, but a spirited protest appeared in the *Boston Pilot*, written by the lamented Bishop Bernard O'Reilly over the signature of "Roger Williams." The Bishop's letters, admirable in tone as they are convincing in argument, may be found in Rev. J. H. O'Donnell's *History of the Diocese of Hartford*, pp. 141-147, to which the writer is indebted for the principal facts in the above narrative of the Duggan incident. Thereupon the case was brought to the attention of the Hon. C. M. Conrad, Secretary of War. The Secretary, in a brief opinion, condemned the practices of the officials on Governor's Island and

settled the right of every soldier to be exempt from compulsory attendance at religious worship contrary to his conscientious scruples. Duggan was at once released, and by formal order of the Department the unexecuted part of his sentence was remitted.

There had been previous efforts to coerce Catholic soldiers into attendance at public worship conducted by Protestant chaplains. During the war in Florida Catholic soldiers had been arrested and tried by court martial for refusing to obey the order of a bigoted commandant requiring all to attend Protestant worship. The court ruled that they had committed no fault. Some years later Lieutenant O'Brien of the regular army stationed at Old Point Comfort, Va., was ordered to march a company of soldiers on Sunday to the chapel where Protestant services were to be held. He led his men to the front door, halting them there, and leaving it to each individual to enter and attend Protestant worship or not as he saw fit. For not marching his men into the chapel he was charged with disobedience and placed under arrest, but the authorities did not think it proper to put him on trial and he was released and restored to duty.\* Again in 1846 during the war with Mexico, Catholic soldiers in our army, commanded by General Taylor, were compelled to attend service held by the Protestant chaplains who took advantage of the opportunity to denounce their faith. Upon representation of the facts to the President (James K. Polk), two Jesuit Fathers, John McElroy and Anthony Rey were selected and at once joined General Taylor's army in Texas as chaplains for the Catholic soldiers.†

In the Navy, Lieutenant Baker incurred the risk of court martial by refusing to obey the orders of his captain, the commander of the "Falmouth," who sought to enforce his attendance at Protestant religious worship held on board by the Government chaplain.‡ Two years later (1853) Lieutenant Monroe was suspended and one of the petty officers was put in

\* Shea, Vol. III, p. 579.

† Ibid., pp. 31-32.

‡ Shea, Vol. IV., p. 154.

irons by the Commander of the United States man-of-war "Vincennes" for refusing to attend Protestant religious worship held on board that vessel.\*

#### INTOLERANCE PRACTISED IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

No form of persecution was more common, as none was meaner, than the petty tyranny practised by the officials in charge of the almshouses and other State institutions over the unfortunate Catholics who happened to be among the inmates; as when, in 1846, the superintendent of the almshouse at Fitchburg refused to permit a Catholic priest to see a dying inmate.† And in 1847 when the Emigrant Hospital on Deer Island in Boston and the poorhouse at South Boston were crowded with emigrants, sick and many of them dying with ship fever, the priests who sought to administer to these unfortunates were for a long time excluded. In consequence many poor Catholic emigrants died without the last sacraments. At last leave was granted, but upon onerous conditions, and when Father McCallion succeeded in gaining admission he found thirty-two patients actually dying, to whom he administered Extreme Unction.‡ At Albany, N. Y., in November, 1851, three inmates of the almshouse were confined on bread and water for refusing on two successive Sundays to join in Protestant worship.¶ And for a long time the Catholic inmates of the Hudson County Almshouse in Jersey City, N. J., were made to suffer for conscience's sake. By order of the officials no priest could be admitted even to administer the sacraments in case of necessity, and Father John Kelly of St. Peter's, Jersey City, was repeatedly refused admission when he sought to visit the inmates. We might multiply instances of this sort of petty persecution occurring in various parts of the country. These, with other signs indicated the development

\* Shea, Vol. IV., p. 372.

† Shea, Vol. IV, p. 154.

‡ Ibid., p. 157, and Memorial History of Boston, Vol. III, p. 527.

¶ Shea, Vol. IV, p. 131.



of another anti-Catholic movement which was soon to be formally organized and was destined to engage public attention to a greater degree than had any similar previous movement. We refer to the Know-nothing party and its lawless crusade against Catholics; and we reserve this subject for the next and concluding paper of this series.

## LETTER OF SISTER ST. AUGUSTINE RELATIVE TO "THE BURNING OF THE CONVENT."

CONTRIBUTED BY PETER CONDON.

IN 1877 a small volume was published at Boston bearing the respectable imprint of James R. Osgood & Company, entitled *The Burning of the Convent. A narrative of the destruction, by a mob, of the Ursuline School on Mount Benedict, Charlestown, as remembered by one of the pupils.* Elsewhere the author describes herself as "a very small eye witness."

No author's name appeared on the title page, but from the contents of the book it was seen to be the composition of Mrs. Goddard, formerly Miss Louisa Whitney, who had been a pupil in the Charlestown convent on the night of the burning, where she had spent altogether about a fortnight preliminary to the opening of school on August 15, 1834. The book was offered to the public as "a truthful account" of the events of that dreadful night. In addition, it set forth many details affecting the character of the institution and of the nuns who made up the community, and while not stained by any religious prejudice, yet the author's remarks upon the character of various members of the community and her description of various episodes of convent life, if true, were not complimentary to the nuns, but rather tended to bring them into ridicule. Besides, it was evident by reference to authentic records, that the author had lapsed from historical accuracy in respect to various important incidents which she undertook to set forth.

In the endeavor to discover certain facts connected with the early history of the community in Boston the present writer made inquiries of the Ursuline community at Three Rivers, Canada, where the Misses Ryan, the pioneers of the former community had made their novitiate, and learned, among other things, that there was a letter in the archives of that institution

which had been written to correct the unjust and untruthful statements contained in Mrs. Goddard's narrative. This letter was written in 1887 at the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans by Sister, then Mother Superior, St. Augustine (Frances O'Keeffe), who had been one of the community in the Charlestown convent who were driven out by the fire and the mob. In that community Sister Augustine had been known as Sister Mary Austin, the change being made in the name when she was received in the New Orleans community in 1841.

When Mrs. Goddard's work appeared, Right Rev. James A. Healy, Bishop of Portland, learned that Sister St. Augustine was surviving in New Orleans. With a view to refute the false statements contained in the book he expressed the desire that she would prepare a statement of the events in which she had been a participant. The Bishop's wish was made known through Rev. Father Flynn, S.J., then stationed in New Orleans, to whom the letter is addressed. It is to these circumstances that the letter owes its origin. It may be mentioned that Mother St. Augustine passed peacefully to her rest at the convent in New Orleans, of which she was for a long time Superior, on November 1, 1888, in the seventy-eighth year of her age and the fifty-sixth of her religious profession. Her sister, Miss Ellen O'Keeffe, in religion Sister Mary Joseph, was a member of the Charlestown community at the same time. She died in 1879 at the age of seventy-six years at the Ursuline convent at Three Rivers. Both were natives of Cork, Ireland.

Coming, as did this evidence, to the light after an interval of more than half a century and from an eye witness of the tragic events which she described, and when the voices of all other witnesses had been stilled in death, the writer judged that this letter must interest the readers of our *Catholic Historical Records* and should be published. So far as is known it has not yet appeared in print.\* Through the courtesy of Rev. Mother Marie de Jésus, the Superior of the Ur-

\* Some extracts however are contained in an obituary notice of Mother St. Augustine published at New Orleans in 1888.

sulines at Three Rivers, a copy was furnished to the writer. A considerable part of the letter is taken up with an analysis and refutation of various statements contained in Mrs. Goddard's book relating to incidents and conditions, of somewhat minor importance, however, occurring or existing in the convent previous to the fire. It is hardly necessary to say that the Ursulines do not need to be vindicated, especially to Catholic readers, against the frivolous and absurd statements which Sister St. Augustine shows had no foundation in fact and could only have been evoked from the vivid imagination of the author of *The Burning of the Convent*. This controversial part of the letter we omit, as not being of sufficient interest at the present day to warrant its repetition in these pages, but the narrative of what the venerable Sister saw and did on the night of the fire, as well as the account of the dispersal of the community afterwards is so interesting and so graphically told that we reproduce it without curtailment as follows:

URSULINE CONVENT, NEW ORLEANS, June 17th, 1887.

REV. TH. FLYNN, S.J.

Dear Reverend Father:

After a careful perusal of the book entitled: *The Burning of the Convent*, I have found it so replete with inaccuracies, that did I not feel it a bounden duty to comply with your request and that of the Right Rev. Bishop of Portland, I would not undertake the task of correcting them, bowed down as I am under the weight of years and bodily infirmities, which, however, D. G. leave me the full enjoyment of my mental faculties. In acquitting myself of the task before me, I intend giving only such facts as are necessary to disprove the statements made in the forementioned book.

Owing to the tremor of my hands, I am obliged to employ an amanuensis; but should the Sister thus employed deem well of making any comments on what she has read in L. Whitney's so-called "truthful accounts of events so extraordinary as to have impressed themselves indelibly on a naturally retentive memory," such comments will not fail to be enclosed between brackets, in order that they may not be confounded with the simple relation of facts which came under my own notice, while in the Ursuline convent, near Charlestown, Mass., nor

with other details which have since been related to me by persons whose sincerity, I could find no reason for doubting. . .

In 1834, our community was composed of seven choir and three lay sisters, namely, the Superioress and assistant of whom we have already spoken,\* Sister Mary Ursula, sister of Capt. Bela Chase, N.H.; Sister Mary Benedict, eldest daughter of Rev. V. H. Barber; Sister M. Joseph, Miss E. O'Keeffe, and her sister Frances, in religion, Sister Mary Austin, both natives of Cork; Sister Mary Henry, (I forget her family name, but I know her mother was sister to the three Misses Ryan who founded the convent, and that several of her sisters, together with their mother, became Ursulines in Ireland); Sister Mary Claire, Rebecca Theresa da Costa, a native of Boston;† Sister Mary Ambrose, also a native of Boston; and Sister Mary Bernard, a native of Ireland. Being so few we were busy from morning until night; but our labor was a labor of love and peace. . . .

The night our convent was attacked and destroyed by a ruthless mob, goaded on by Dr. Lyman Beecher and the Protestant ministers of Charlestown and Boston, neither ourselves nor our pupils seemed to have the least anxiety concerning our own safety or that of the convent; and all of us retired to rest at the usual hour, except Sister Mary Ursula who was watching by the sick-bed of Sister Mary Henry, already in an advanced stage of consumption. Between nine and ten o'clock, the sick Sister, suffering from a suffocating sensation, wished to have a window opened, so the infirmarian went to open part of one which overlooked the avenue and front gate. At first she neither saw nor heard anything to attract attention, but after a while, she distinctly heard shouts of "Down with the Pope! Down with the Bishop! Down with the convent!" She continued to watch and listen at the window until she heard the noise made by the rioters in endeavoring to break through the iron gate at the end of the avenue; and then she thought it necessary to inform the Superioress of what was taking place. The latter gave orders to wake up, very quietly, all the Sisters, and to take particular care not to light any lamps in the front

\* These were Sister St. George, whose family name was Moffat, the Superior, and Sister Mary John, a Miss Harrison of Philadelphia.

† This lady was an aunt of the late Father Benjamin F. Da Costa, formerly a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City and at the time of his death in 1904 a member of our *Historical Society*. Sister Mary Claire died at the Ursuline Convent, in New Orleans, September 25, 1874.

apartments. When the Sisters were completely dressed in their religious costume, the rioters had already made their way into the avenue, so the Superioress thought it would be more prudent to make the children dress also. I was charged with the difficult task of waking them and helping them to dress almost in the dark. On entering the dormitory all was in profound silence. I woke them up as quickly and as quietly as possible, telling them to dress immediately, without, however, letting them know the cause of my waking them up so soon and of my not lighting the lamps. I did not hear a single scream or even a sob among them. Nothing whatever to indicate that they were frightened. I merely heard some murmur to themselves such phrases as these: "I cannot see to lace my shoes—why do they not light the lamps?" Before retiring to rest each pupil was always obliged to keep her clothes arranged near her bed; therefore, confusion, as that described by Mrs. Whitney, could not have arisen from the pupils having to dress without any light save "the dim glimmer of the hall lantern"—rather the hall lamp, for unless my memory deceives me, we had lamps, not lanterns in the hall.

Soon after ten the children, as well as the nuns, were fully dressed, and then I took them to one of the wings overlooking the back garden, so that they might not be frightened by the tumult which the mob was commencing to make in front of the main building. Here I remained with them until between eleven and twelve o'clock when the Superioress sent me word to take them down stairs. I do not believe that any child could have left the apartment where we were without my knowledge, and I have no recollection whatever of the Superior's having sent for Maria Fay, or for any other children. And though I am loath to mention anything which might be said to savor of self-praise, yet truth and justice oblige me to state that from the moment I received the Superior's orders to take the children under my special care, until I fell into a swoon after descending the first flight of stairs for the purpose of seeking refuge in the garden, I was so absorbed in acquitting myself of this important duty, that I do not remember having had any other idea in mind, save that of watching over them with all the solicitude of a mother. In fact, my preoccupation about their safety was so great that, even though I held the office of sacristan, I forgot all about making an effort to save the Blessed Sacrament, until my sister (Sister M. Joseph) and another Sister, who, if I mistake not was Sister M. Ursula Chase, came to ask me for the key of the

tabernacle. Thinking that it would not be lawful for me to leave the post assigned me by my Superioress even on this account, I contented myself in telling them where I was accustomed to keep the key; but they could not succeed in finding it, so they resolved on removing the tabernacle together. (This tabernacle was the gift of our venerable prelate, Right Rev. Bishop Fenwick, and it was not as yet firmly fixed to the altar, our chapel being but a temporary one.) While they were endeavoring to do this, the rioters were hard at work breaking in the door of the chapel, and the carpet of the sanctuary was already strewed with the shattered glass of the windows. These two brave Sisters had just time to escape with their precious treasure when the door was burst open. They hid the tabernacle in a bed of asparagus which had been let run to seed, and which was then about three feet high, thinking that the rioters would never have the idea of searching for any treasure there, and with the intention of requesting some priest to remove the Blessed Sacrament after the dispersion of the mob.

Meantime, the pupils, accompanied by the rest of the community, had assembled in a large summer-house situated in one of the angles of the further end of the garden. When the two Sisters already mentioned had finished hiding the tabernacle, they joined the others, and on counting over the number of children and nuns, found that one was missing; so they hastened back to the convent, where they found me in a senseless state. I frequently heard them say that they were obliged to drag me, as best they could, down two flights of stairs and out into the garden, where several of the grown girls came to their assistance, and carried me off to the summer-house, where I soon recovered from the swoon into which I had fallen soon after hearing that it was no longer safe to remain in the convent. Up to then, I do not think that my presence of mind or my courage had, for a moment, forsaken me; and I neither saw nor heard anything to indicate that any one else had lost hers. To the present day, the courage, calmness, and resignation displayed by all are to me so many subjects of admiration and gratitude to our heavenly Father, who deigned to strengthen and console us during the horrors of this dreadful night, when forced by this bigotry and hatred of a ruthless mob to leave forever a happy home, where we dwelt together in peace and love, zealously laboring for the greater glory of God, the good of our neighbor, and our own sanctification—a home under whose blessed roof we had hoped to have the consolation of one day surrendering our souls into the hands of our Creator.

I forgot to mention a circumstance, which goes to prove how little we suspected that our convent was about to be attacked; for, had we the least apprehension, we would certainly have endeavored, before retiring to rest on Monday night, to barricade every door and window in the house. Owing to our not having taken this precaution, as soon as the Sisters had finished dressing, the Superioress sent several of them, two by two, to examine if all the doors and windows were well shut, giving them at the same time strict injunctions not to admit any person into the house. When Sisters Mary Claire and Mary Ambrose went to see if the kitchen were in a state of security, a man was already trying to make his way in through a window; he told them not to fear, because he was a Catholic Irishman, who having heard of the mob's dark design of destroying the convent, and feeling himself unable to do anything outside to help or protect the nuns, had come around there to try and be of some use to them. Notwithstanding his apparently honest and friendly motives, the Sisters refused to let him stay, on account of the Superior's injunctions, and also for fear that he was only a spy. I know not why, but I have never been able to doubt the good intentions of that man, and, as long as my heart is capable of feeling, it will overflow with gratitude toward him, and all who, in the dark hour of trial, proved themselves our friends, either by helping us or by sympathizing in our great affliction. My prayers shall be daily offered up for their happiness in time and eternity.

It is probable that the rioters had not the intention of taking our lives, for when Sisters Mary Ursula and Mary Joseph had gone in search of me, they heard some one say: "Are you sure there's nobody in the house?" I heard, however, that they had the intention of killing the Bishop; and that for the purpose of being the better able to put this wicked design into execution, they had recourse to the stratagem of sending some gentlemen in a carriage to his residence, informing him of what was taking place at Mount Benedict and requesting him, in the name of the Superioress, to come out and try to prevail on the mob not to destroy the convent. But he, inspired by God, and perhaps suspecting their dark design, refused to go, saying: "What can one man do?" Twice during the following night an attempt was made to set fire to the cathedral; and every night during a month a body of Irishmen volunteered to guard it and the Bishop's residence.

When we had been out about a quarter or perhaps half an hour in the summer-house already mentioned, we heard per-





MT. BENEDICT.

From an old print furnished by the Ursuline Nuns  
of Three Rivers, Canada.



RUINS OF THE URSULINE CONVENT OF MT. BENEDICT.



sons knocking at the wooden fence which separated the garden where we were from the orchard in the rear. At first we kept perfectly still, fearing that the noise was made by some of the rioters, but very soon we heard friendly voices, assuring us that we had nothing to fear. It appears that when Mr. Cutter, one of our neighbors, and several other kind friends, saw that it would be quite useless for us to struggle against the fury of the mob which had determined on setting fire to the convent, they stole around to the orchard, with the intention of helping us to make our escape to some place of safety. While some of these brave men were endeavoring to make a breach in the fence, which, though made of wood, was strong and high, others climbed over it on our side and taking the children one by one they raised them up to other gentlemen, seated on top of the fence, the latter handing them to those on the other side. By the time this was done, an opening large enough for one person to creep through was made, and in this way the nuns were able to rejoin the boarders, who remained quietly waiting on the other side, except a few who, with Sister Mary John and Mr. Cutter, went ahead and took refuge in the house of this gentleman. But they did not remain long there, for the Superioress, finding that the house could not afford accommodation to all the community and boarders would not consent to have them separated, and she insisted on every one's accompanying her to the house of Mr. Adams at Winter Hill, which she heard was large enough for all, and also a much safer refuge than the house of Mr. Cutter, which was situated too near the convent. On arriving at Winter Hill, we went immediately to the house of Mr. Adams, into which we received admittance, after some hesitation on the part of the proprietor, who probably, was afraid of drawing on himself the fury of the mob. However, we were on the whole kindly treated by himself and his worthy wife, who ushered us into the parlor where there was a sofa and several chairs, but not enough for our pupils. We laid our dear invalid, Sister Mary Henry, on the sofa, and a Sister sat near to fan her; the Superioress and the other Sister sat on the chairs, while all the children seated themselves on the carpet, the little girls leaning their heads on the laps of the grown young ladies, and before long we had the consolation of seeing them fall asleep.

In 1834, we had only two pupils from New Orleans, a Miss Hall and another whose name I cannot recollect; but I am quite certain that both were grown up young ladies and that we had not a child in our convent to whom the description

given of the "poor Louisa from New Orleans" would be applicable. Catalina Mason, from Porto Rico, aged about seven years, was the youngest of our pupils. She was a healthy, intelligent child, and a great favorite of the Bishop's.

I do not think that either nuns or pupils saved a single thing apart from the clothes they had on, except Sister M. Joseph who brought away from the sacristy a case containing a chalice and paten; she sat opposite me, and I noticed with how great reverence she kept it in her hands all night.

\* \* \* \* \*

After having been about an hour at the house of Mr. Adams, this worthy gentleman came to the door of the apartment where we were, and said: "Ladies, should any of you desire to take a last look of your convent, come upstairs with me." The Superioress and all the Sisters except Sister Mary Henry and myself followed him; and on arriving upstairs, the convent was seen already enveloped in flames. In about ten minutes, they returned to the parlor, where we all knelt and said aloud the psalm: "*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.*" We sat down again in silence, our hearts full of sorrow, yet patient and resigned. Not a child left our charge that night until their parents and guardians came for them in carriages. The pupils whose parents lived at a distance, to the number of seven or eight, remained with us until our beloved Bishop sent some priests and gentlemen with several carriages to convey us to the hospitable dwelling of the good Sisters of Charity, where both ourselves and our pupils met with a most cordial reception from himself and these kind ladies, who, during the two months we remained their guests, left nothing undone to make us feel at home among them.

Before leaving the house of Mr. Adams on Tuesday morning we had the grief of hearing something which afflicted us far more than the destruction of our convent. I will give the facts as I have heard them related by persons worthy of credit. After the rioters had set fire to every building belonging to us they made their way into the garden from which we had escaped, and at the end of which, right in the center, was a small Gothic chapel erected over the vault where reposed the remains of our deceased Sisters. This sacred abode of the dead was just as little respected as that of the living. The rioters, after searching in vain for the treasure which they imagined was hidden somewhere in the vault, broke open the coffins, laying bare the mouldering remains of our beloved Sisters—and even pulling

out the teeth of some! But what is still more sad and horrible to relate, the hidden tabernacle was discovered and rifled of its sacred contents. The perpetrator of this atrocious crime did not long escape the effects of divine vengeance for, on entering his house, which was not far distant from Mount Benedict, he cut his throat. His wife, terrified by this act and kept back by some secret power from touching the sacred Hosts, which she found in his pocket, sent immediately for the resident priest of Charlestown to whom she said: "There are some white wafers in my husband's pocket which I am afraid to touch." The priest then understood what had taken place, and removed the sacred Hosts with great reverence. I do not remember the name of this clergyman, but I think it was Healy or some name resembling it.

Another instance of divine vengeance has been related to me this very month (June, 1887) by Mother St. Agnes, Superioress of the Ursuline convent, Galveston. One of the men who had taken part in the destruction of our convent died not long ago in Galveston, and some time before his death he acknowledged that having taken up a stone with the intention of throwing it at the Superioress, who was speaking to the mob from an upper window of the convent, his hand became lifeless and thus remained all through life.

To the best of my recollections not a single star was visible in the firmament on the night our convent was burned; the atmosphere was warm and heavy, almost foggy; and the moon being only in its first quarter, could not have been seen, except in the early part of the night and I do not remember having seen it at all.

After staying about two months under the hospitable roof of the Sisters of Charity, we removed to Brinley Place, near Roxbury, where Sister Mary Henry died on October 18th. The death of this young and amiable Sister was supposed to have been greatly accelerated by the terrible shock she received on the night our convent was destroyed. It may be apropos to state here, that never, until I read Mrs. Whitney's book, did I hear that the health of any of our pupils had been in the least affected by the fatigue inevitable on that night. Previous to the death of Sister Mary Henry, great preparations had been made for doing honor to the memory of the Marquis de Lafayette; but, for some reason or other, the obsequies intended for him were celebrated for our dear departed Sister, whose mortal remains were conveyed with great pomp to the priest's cemetery, South Boston. I was told that this change

was owing to the Bishop's having been informed that the Marquis had died a member of some secret society, but I cannot vouch for the truth of this statement.

Soon after the death of this young Sister, six of us, Sister Mary Ursula, Sister Mary John, Sister Mary Joseph, Sister Mary Claire, Sister Mary Bernard, and myself, set out for the Ursuline convent, Quebec, where we arrived on the eve of All Saints, and were cordially welcomed by all our dear Mothers and Sisters of that honored monastery. We had no other guide or protector on our way except Mr. O'Rafferty, in whose coach we traveled from Boston to Lake Champlain. The night of our arrival at Concord, N. H., we were shown by the hotel-keeper into an apartment where several gentlemen who had come to the capital for the meeting of the State Legislature were seated around a table reading, if I well remember. As soon as we entered, all immediately retired to their private apartments, but just as we were seated down to supper, one of them returned and said in a very polite tone: "Ladies, I would like to know if Miss Sarah Chase is among you?" Hearing this, Sister Mary Ursula stood up and said: "And supposing she were, what would you desire of her?" At this somewhat abrupt reply, he smiled, saying: "I am her cousin and I would like to have an interview with her." She then advanced and made herself known, but she put off the desired interview until the following day, saying she was tired and had her Office to recite. He then shook hands with her and retired, with the hope of seeing her soon again; but she, fearing he had the intention of taking her off by force to their family residence at Cornish, sent for Mr. O'Rafferty and told him to have the horses ready before dawn; she also requested the landlady to wake us before day and to have breakfast prepared for ourselves and the coachman. Hence, while the members of the Legislature were still asleep we were off on a journey again, probably to the great disappointment of Sister Mary Ursula's gallant cousin.

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Shortly after our arrival at Quebec, Sisters Mary John and Mary Claire were recalled to Boston, for the purpose of giving evidence on the trial of the rioters. In July, 1835, they left Brinley Place with the remainder of the community and several boarders, and returned to Quebec, accompanied by the Rev. J. Maguire, chaplain of the Ursulines of that city.

In 1838 Bishop Fenwick decided on making another effort

to re-establish a house of our Order in Boston: for this purpose he rented a house in Quincy Place, near Fort Hill, and in the course of the same year we all returned to Boston except Sister Mary Bernard, who was already dead, and the Superioress, Sister St. George Moffat, who did not originally belong to our community, having made her religious profession at the Ursuline convent, Quebec. Sister Mary Benedict and Sister Mary Ursula were the first to leave Quebec, the former having been named Superioress. On their way to Boston they spent some time at Cornish, N. H., in the family of Capt. Bela Chase, brother of the latter. Their stay at this place was owing to the delicate state of Sister Mary Benedict's health. In August of the same year, 1838, they were rejoined at Quincy Place by the other members of the community, but, after another fruitless attempt to continue our mission in Boston, it was decided that we should give it up, at least for some time.

The assistant, Sister Mary John Harrison, was the first to leave for the Ursuline convent, Quebec; she was accompanied thither by a priest whose name I do not remember. In the spring, 1840, Sisters Mary Ursula and Mary Joseph accompanied by my brother, Mr. Thomas O'Keeffe, went to the Ursuline convent, Three Rivers. And toward the close of the same year, Sisters Mary Claire and Mary Ambrose left for New Orleans, where they arrived November 17th. I was then suffering from an attack of acute rheumatism, and our physician being of opinion that I could not live in a cold climate like that of Canada, I referred the choice of my future abode to my esteemed and devoted Father, the Right Rev. Bishop Fenwick, my only desire being to enter a community where I could observe my holy vows and rules. Accordingly, as soon as my health was sufficiently restored to support the fatigue of traveling, I received the following permit from that worthy prelate, and then set out for this city, where I arrived on the festival of All Saints, 1841.

**"TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:**

"This is to certify that Sister Mary Austin, Ursuline, formerly of the convent of Mount Benedict, Charlestown, is permitted to repair to the convent of Ursulines, near the city of New Orleans, to abide there; her desire, as signified to me, being to go to some regular community of her Order, where she may live agreeably to her holy Institute. Accordingly I

## HISTORY OF A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

BY REV. MICHAEL J. CONSIDINE.

PAPER READ BY THE HISTORIAN of St. Gabriel's Alumni Association, at their Reception and Banquet, tendered to the Most Rev. John M. Farley, D.D., Archbishop of New York, Park Avenue Hotel, November 24, 1902.

MOST REV. AND DEAR ARCHBISHOP AND  
DEAR BROTHERS ALUMNI:

During the later years of his administration the first Archbishop of New York, the never-to-be-forgotten Hughes, was guided by his intimate conviction that our country is the place and ours the time for the Catholic School before the Catholic Church. That is to say, let Catholic priests and parents in the United States devote their best energy toward providing for their children a true Christian education, and they may safely leave to those children the noble works of building the churches of Christ and of winning to His only religion the hearts of their fellow citizens. As the days go by, it grows clearer, ever clearer, that this guiding principle of the great Archbishop must have been an inspiration from the everlasting Wisdom of God.

When, in the summer of 1859, Archbishop Hughes selected the Rev. William H. Clowry to be the founder and first pastor of St. Gabriel's parish, mindful of this principle, he bade his priest to give his first care to the lambs of the flock of Christ. "Go," said the Archbishop, "provide your people with a place in which they can assist decently at the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, and, at least simultaneously, provide your people's children with a school in which they can receive a solid Christian training."

Happily for the edification of New York, which is the



Boston turned to him, saying: "Was it you who burned my convent?" What reply the latter made I know not, but I was told he afterwards acknowledged that he felt so confounded and ashamed, [that] he would like to have hidden himself underground, were such a thing possible.

Some years after my arrival here, two ladies from Boston favored me with a visit: one of them, a member of the Dana family, consoled me by saying that the destruction of our convent might well be considered the seed of Catholicity in Boston, just as the blood of the early martyrs was styled the seed of Christianity; for many who before allowed themselves to be biased by the representations of our enemies, had since then found out how false was all that had been said against our institution; this gave them the idea of investigating if their prejudices on religious matters were equally ill-founded; and thus they finished by finding out and embracing the true faith.

Hoping that yourself and the worthy Bishop of Portland will be satisfied with the details I have given to the best of my recollection and recommending myself and community to your prayers at the holy altar,

I remain, dear Reverend Father,

Yours most respectfully in J. C.

SISTER FRANCES O'KEEFFE,  
of St. Augustine.

angel of the Incarnation. New York was no great city in those days, although not ungenerous in her promises of future greatness. Forty-second Street was then far up-town; Central Park, laid out after survey in 1858, was regarded as the country; Archbishop Hughes' action in laying the corner-stone of New York's cathedral of St. Patrick at Fiftieth Street and Fifth Avenue, on August 15, 1858, was commented upon mildly as extravagant and foolish; Yorkville, Harlem, Manhattanville, Inwood, and Carmansville were far distant places to the New York citizen. As for the new parish of St. Gabriel, architecturally it was mainly a parish of wooden shanties. As already hinted, St. Gabriel's combination church and school on Thirty-sixth Street, east of Second Avenue, was the most imposing edifice because it was built of bricks. All other Thirty-sixth Street buildings were of wood, and they were very few. On the eastern side of Second Avenue, from Thirty-sixth to Thirty-seventh Streets., were some brick houses. One of these, near Thirty-sixth Street, was the original residence of St. Gabriel's pastor and his assistant priest. On Thirty-seventh Street, east of Second Avenue, it is probable that Nos. 300, 301, 302, 303, 304 and 305 were already built and tenanted. But, east of No. 304, on the south side of East Thirty-seventh Street, in the days of which we write, there were only empty lots, a stoneyard, and the future site, at First Avenue, of the car barns, stables and repair shops of the old Belt-Line surface car service. East of No. 305, on the north side of Thirty-seventh Street, stood the big shanty of the good Catholic, Billy Jones; east of that and farther back from the street, stood the humble shanty of another good Catholic, Mrs. Ward, afterwards Mrs. Brady, or *vice versa*. East of her shanty was a broad and beautiful green field. The eastern boundary of this field, very near to First Avenue, was occupied by the humble stables of a stone mason, whose foreman answered to the name of Lee. In this large, green, grassy field, every evening, the horses were turned forth after the day's labor to frolic and gambol on the sward. All the day long that field resounded with the lowing of kine, fat and lean, with the babbling of

geese, the quacking of ducks, the barking and snarling of dogs, the clucking and cackling of motherly hens, the triumphant crowing of strutting roosters, the bleating of goats multitudinous, and the other noises peculiar to the old-time farm. On that field betimes bellicose boys arbitrated their differences by means of fisticuffs, while directly opposite and east of where the church now stands was the stone-yard battlefield, which beheld some bloody struggles between the Thirty-sixth Streeters and the Thirty-eight and Thirty-ninth Streeters. The Thirty-seventh Streeters were always good little boys, being, possibly, too few in number to make up an army in battle array. It is needless to add that St. Gabriel's principal street, from Second Avenue to the East River, was quite unsatisfactory as a city thoroughfare. It was unpaved. Crossing it in dry weather, if you knew geography, was like a brief experience of Sahara; while in wet weather its deep, thick, sticky, coal-dust-impregnated mud often served one of the purposes of the bootjack. North of Thirty-seventh Street existed a state of affairs unique in civic history. The only brick building on Thirty-eighth Street east of Second Avenue was the Kips Bay Malt House. The other buildings were of wood. Some were shanties, consisting of ground floor and attic; others, more pretentious, rose to varying heights. The ground floors of these prouder structures were used as shops, where you could purchase groceries, eggs genuinely fresh, pure milk, firewood, and other things necessary or desirable for home use. North of Thirty-eighth Street, things were more irregular. You there began to ascend the southerly slope of the bluff which dominated First Avenue, and whose highest point was reached in the neighborhood of Forty-second Street. All over this hill—called Dutch Hill probably because the Irish held it—you saw shanties set down without the least regard for æsthetic or any other kind of principles. Around each shanty was a little farm, on which potatoes, tomatoes, cabbages, corn, and hay grew in luxuriance, bearing testimony to the industry of the people. And those people? How did they look? How do the Irish always look wherever they get half a chance? Strong, bright-eyed, hand-

angel of the Incarnation. New York was no great city in those days, although not ungenerous in her promises of future greatness. Forty-second Street was then far up-town; Central Park, laid out after survey in 1858, was regarded as the country; Archbishop Hughes' action in laying the corner-stone of New York's cathedral of St. Patrick at Fiftieth Street and Fifth Avenue, on August 15, 1858, was commented upon mildly as extravagant and foolish; Yorkville, Harlem, Manhattanville, Inwood, and Carmansville were far distant places to the New York citizen. As for the new parish of St. Gabriel, architecturally it was mainly a parish of wooden shanties. As already hinted, St. Gabriel's combination church and school on Thirty-sixth Street, east of Second Avenue, was the most imposing edifice because it was built of bricks. All other Thirty-sixth Street buildings were of wood, and they were very few. On the eastern side of Second Avenue, from Thirty-sixth to Thirty-seventh Streets., were some brick houses. One of these, near Thirty-sixth Street, was the original residence of St. Gabriel's pastor and his assistant priest. On Thirty-seventh Street, east of Second Avenue, it is probable that Nos. 300, 301, 302, 303, 304 and 305 were already built and tenanted. But, east of No. 304, on the south side of East Thirty-seventh Street, in the days of which we write, there were only empty lots, a stoneyard, and the future site, at First Avenue, of the car barns, stables and repair shops of the old Belt-Line surface car service. East of No. 305, on the north side of Thirty-seventh Street, stood the big shanty of the good Catholic, Billy Jones; east of that and farther back from the street, stood the humble shanty of another good Catholic, Mrs. Ward, afterwards Mrs. Brady, or *vice versa*. East of her shanty was a broad and beautiful green field. The eastern boundary of this field, very near to First Avenue, was occupied by the humble stables of a stone mason, whose foreman answered to the name of Lee. In this large, green, grassy field, every evening, the horses were turned forth after the day's labor to frolic and gambol on the sward. All the day long that field resounded with the lowing of kine, fat and lean, with the babbling of

geese, the quacking of ducks, the barking and snarling of dogs, the clucking and cackling of motherly hens, the triumphant crowing of strutting roosters, the bleating of goats multitudinous, and the other noises peculiar to the old-time farm. On that field betimes bellicose boys arbitrated their differences by means of fisticuffs, while directly opposite and east of where the church now stands was the stone-yard battlefield, which beheld some bloody struggles between the Thirty-sixth Streeters and the Thirty-eight and Thirty-ninth Streeters. The Thirty-seventh Streeters were always good little boys, being, possibly, too few in number to make up an army in battle array. It is needless to add that St. Gabriel's principal street, from Second Avenue to the East River, was quite unsatisfactory as a city thoroughfare. It was unpaved. Crossing it in dry weather, if you knew geography, was like a brief experience of Sahara; while in wet weather its deep, thick, sticky, coal-dust-impregnated mud often served one of the purposes of the bootjack. North of Thirty-seventh Street existed a state of affairs unique in civic history. The only brick building on Thirty-eighth Street east of Second Avenue was the Kips Bay Malt House. The other buildings were of wood. Some were shanties, consisting of ground floor and attic; others, more pretentious, rose to varying heights. The ground floors of these prouder structures were used as shops, where you could purchase groceries, eggs genuinely fresh, pure milk, firewood, and other things necessary or desirable for home use. North of Thirty-eighth Street, things were more irregular. You there began to ascend the southerly slope of the bluff which dominated First Avenue, and whose highest point was reached in the neighborhood of Forty-second Street. All over this hill—called Dutch Hill probably because the Irish held it—you saw shanties set down without the least regard for æsthetic or any other kind of principles. Around each shanty was a little farm, on which potatoes, tomatoes, cabbages, corn, and hay grew in luxuriance, bearing testimony to the industry of the people. And those people? How did they look? How do the Irish always look wherever they get half a chance? Strong, bright-eyed, hand-

three hundred men from Sorata, who approached the "alto" from the north in hopes of reenforcing the garrison of La Paz, was wiped out by the rebels on March 18th. An attempt on the part of Segurola to succor them failed through the cowardice of the militia, so that the commander had to make the discouraging comment: "On this occasion and on others, the men proved how little confidence could be placed in them." With this gloomy perspective before the commander the siege of La Paz began.

On March 27th the valley of the La Paz river in the south was overrun by Indians from Yungas and Sicasica. Soon after the heights east and north were seized. The city was surrounded completely and cut off from the outer world. With barely three hundred reliable soldiers, Segurola undertook to save thirty thousand people from the fury of about fifteen thousand bloodthirsty aborigines. These were exclusively Aymara and from the jurisdiction of the city. The most distant of them came from not over a hundred miles away. They acknowledged to a certain extent a common leader, though there were continuous bickerings, and frequent protests against his authority. That leader is said to have been the son of a sacristan of the village of Ayo-Ayo, about fifty miles south of La Paz. His real name was Julian Apaza, but he assumed the surname of Tupac Catari, made up of two languages, *Tupac* in Quichua meaning bright or shining, while *Catari* in Aymara signifies a viper. The Apaza family (mostly half-breeds) exists to-day, and they all claim to hail from the hamlet of Sull-Kaui near Ayo-Ayo. Julian Apaza distinguished himself by uncommon ferocity at the very inception of trouble in his district. He was, besides, so far as I have been able to find out, a Shaman of some fame among the Indians.

A certain amount of ability can not be denied to this otherwise repulsive creature. He secured a remarkable ascendancy over the Indians, and sometimes acted in the most despotic manner. He was not always implicitly obeyed, but certainly he was dreaded by his own people. Certain tricks, that are exclusive property of the Indian medicine man, the performance

of the boys' school that can be found is that of 1867, it is impossible to say with certainty how many of the boys entered St. Gabriel's that first year. It is not unlikely, however, that the faith and the zeal of the parents had been increased by their daughters' experience of the sway of the gentle Sisters, and, therefore, that the number of boys at St. Gabriel's during its first year was proportionately not far inferior to that of the girls. Your historian says proportionately, because, first, it is true, statistically, that girls are more numerous than boys, women than men—a fact for which we men ought to thank God with all our might, because our mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters are better than we, and while sure to save their own sweet souls, will help to save our souls too; and, secondly, because in those old days of New York parents sent their boys to work much sooner than their girls.

In the absence of all documentary evidence relative to 1860-1861, the first year of our beloved school's existence, we ought to be very grateful to our good and lovable vice-president, Mr. John J. Killian, who has most kindly imparted to your historian some items of deep interest to our Alumni Society. For example, Mr. Killian became a pupil of St. Gabriel's Parish School for Boys at its very beginning, in that memorable September of 1860. This fact speaks eloquently for the faith of his parents; it speaks as eloquently for the piety and docility of their son. To him we are indebted for the names of some of the boys who were there when the school began. Still living and doing good work for God and man as parishioners of St. Gabriel's are our vice-president himself and Mr. Thomas Madden; outside the parish are Messrs. James Smith and James Monahan. Among those for whom the night of this life has ended, the eternal day begun, Mr. Killian recalls the names of William Cahill, Jeremiah Leamy, Andrew Batson, and John Madden. May God lift their spirits speedily to His "place of refreshment, light, and peace!"

One of Mr. Killian's recollections is very interesting indeed. He remembers a lovely spring morning of 1861, just after the opening of our tremendous Civil War, when John

Bird marched into the class-room, and laying his books on the desk, exclaimed: "My school-days are over. I am going to fight for my country." Then the boy said good-by to his teachers and classmates, and marched forth to do battle under that Star Spangled Banner which, thanks be to God! still stands for "the Union one and inseparable, now and forever." Not an unworthy predecessor was he of that distinguished brother alumnus, who, thirty-seven years later, was to weep and pray in the night for his dead and dying shipmates in the harbor of Havana.

Inquiries made some eight or nine years ago by your historian elicited the fact that St. Gabriel's Boys' School numbered four hundred and fifty pupils in the spring of 1863. It must have been in the winter of that year that Father Clowry succeeded in securing for his boys the services of those excellent educators and school managers, the disciples of St. John Baptist de la Salle. The first two Brothers of the Christian Schools sent to St. Gabriel's boys were named Jovian and Chrysention. Brother Jovian, the Director, was a staunch believer in the obvious literal sense of the words of the Holy Book: "He that spareth the rod (modern synonyms, strap, cowhide, etc.) spoileth the child."

Some St. Gabriel boys still live whose memories can testify that Brother Jovian acted in strict accordance with his belief. Brother Chrysention on the other hand, was up to date. He belonged to the New Testament, the Testament of infinite love and forbearance. Like our gentle Saviour, and like Our Saviour's best loved Apostle, Brother Chrysention was the incarnation of love, kindness, and gentleness towards his little brothers, and Our Lord's little brothers—the boys of St. Gabriel's School.

It is historically true that at least the first few of Brother Jovian's successors were his conscientious imitators in striving to train St. Gabriel's boys for the "strenuous life." Think of Brother Tatian! "How often, oh, how often" did most of us kneel before him with uplifted hands to receive thereon the heavy end of the cowhide and listen tearfully to his eloquent



"After; after!" How often with finger-tips did we touch our toes, (some of us could not now perform the feat at all) to accept his kind attentions to an ignoble, if you will, but rather sensitive portion of our anatomy! Think too of Brother Alfred the Terrible, who replaced Brother Tatian during a very brief part of the latter's twelve-year reign over the boys of St. Gabriel's. We had been under him only a week or two when we arrived at the conclusion that Brother Tatian, by comparison, was gentleness itself; and Father Clowry was petitioned for his return. Brother Tatian returned, and we were as glad as possible. Think, moreover, of the mighty Brother Leontine, who was to be succeeded by disciplinarians of the newer and milder kind—the Gregorys, the Michaels, the Alberts! But God's blessings be on you all to-night, dear Brothers, the quick and the dead, wherever you may be! You did your duty by us as you saw it; while, as for us, our hands are sufficiently shapely notwithstanding all your cowhiding, and whenever we lift our coat-tails, the whole world can see that our unmentionable posterior protuberances have not been robbed of their natural symmetry nor been retarded in their growth. You did not perceive the truth, now so perfectly clear, that severe and frequent corporal punishment is a necessary measure of discipline in only those schools from which Religion, with all its holy, high and refining influences, has been expelled.

Your historian has great admiration for Dr. Hannon and Mr. Hopkins, the amiable and scholarly gentlemen who began the work of training St. Gabriel's boys. They have good reason to be proud of the life-records of most of their pupils. It is therefore without any disparagement of their work that he records the fact that St. Gabriel's schools made giant strides towards educational success after the boys had been placed under the direction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. This is true especially for the twelve years during which Brother Tatian was director, from 1866 to 1878. Brother Tatian had all the qualities needful for the director of a school. He was an excellent, though severe, disciplinarian, and he certainly knew how to choose good teachers. His knowledge

in this direction gave to the little boys such teachers as Thomas Finley, James, afterwards Father Cummiskey, Peter McLoughlin, Matthew Hallinan, and John Fawcett; and to the larger boys, not to mention others, instructors of such keenness and brilliancy of intellect and of such wide and varied scholarship as were Mr. Peter Duffy and Mr. McNally. As Mr. Duffy, young and hearty, is still among the living, your historian must refrain from tempting his dear preceptor to vanity by any public avowal of the esteem in which he is held by all his former pupils. But Mr. McNally—God rest his soul!—truly was a wonder. He must have been perfectly familiar with every arc and point in the circle of human science. When Brother Tatian decided that the boys had mastered Goold Brown's Grammar, he gave word to Mr. McNally, who forthwith led them into the flowery fields of Rhetoric. When the boys had become conversant with Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, and Trigonometry, under Mr. McNally's guidance, they climbed the dizzy heights of Analytical Geometry and Conic Sections, whence they could take a glimpse of the snow-capped, sun-kissed peaks of Differential Calculus. In the class-room he initiated his pupils into the theory of surveying; on the Hudson's Jersey shore, with the suitable instruments, he introduced them to its practice. By lucid explanation and actual experiment he made them understand the laws and facts of Natural Philosophy; then, weary of earth, he soared with them to the empyrean, where together they looked upon the constellations, while listening to the music of the spheres. Truly the pupils of Mr. McNally owe to his memory a debt of gratitude, to his soul the tribute of many a fervent prayer. But some skeptic may ask: "Did the boys learn what he taught?" Your historian thinks they did. Fourteen years after leaving St. Gabriel's, one of those pupils, without any previous special training, was obliged to lecture on Physics and Astronomy before college graduates. Some of those graduates are here to-night, and your historian believes that they found those lectures to be not wholly devoid of interest nor empty of instruction. Give the whole credit to Mr. McNally's admirable

powers as a teacher, which enabled him to make boys of thirteen to sixteen years of age the peers, and more than peers in knowledge of many college graduates. During that golden age of the Boys' School, elocution was taught by the matchless Lyman, drawing by Mr. McNally, vocal music by Prof. Cull, and instrumental music by Peter Duffy. The leaders Peter McLoughlin, Thomas Usher, and Felix McAuliffe, are bright examples of their teacher's skill. During this period also, St. Gabriel's Orchestra and St. Gabriel's Literary Association were formed. They needed no club-house. Through Father Clowry's love and patience, they held their meetings and rehearsals and recreations, sometimes in the old Temperance Hall, and sometimes in Mr. Hallinan's old class-room; while on pleasant Sunday afternoons the old schoolyard served splendidly the purpose of a handball court. Meantime the number of pupils was increasing. Father Clowry found it necessary to use the old hall for school purposes; then to add a story to the original building; and, at last, to cover almost entirely the old yard with a new edifice. He passed to his heavenly reward about midnight of June 11, 1884.

Most happily for us all, Father Clowry was succeeded in St. Gabriel's by that tender lover of children, that wise, zealous, and fearless champion of Christian education, whom we proudly, joyously, and lovingly salute to-night as His Grace the Archbishop of New York. During the eighteen years of his pastorate he has accomplished much for the good of the Alma Mater. In 1889, for example, having previously erected the beautiful and commodious St. Gabriel's Hall, he placed the little boys under the Sisters of Charity. This, your historian thinks, was a wise reform. For up to the age of twelve years, the best hand to guide the boy or girl is the gentle hand of woman. In March, 1894, proud of our Alma Mater's record, he brought her to the notice of the State, which straightway placed upon her brow the Academic laurel. But, better even than this, during his whole pastorate, either personally or through his assistant priests, His Grace has paid his daily visit to the lambs of his flock, thus encouraging them and their

teachers to persevere in that holy path in which science never waxes proud, but always comports herself as the handmaid of Religion.

His Grace is now about to leave us. But as true friends of Christian education, we must not regret; we must rather rejoice at his elevation. His new and splendid dignity will only intensify his love for the children, and will enable him to make, not our parish alone, nor our great diocese alone, but the whole United States—yes, the whole earth, listen while he pleads with his earnest eloquence for the children's Roman Catholic education.

## THE SIEGE OF LA PAZ.

BY ADOLF F. BANDELIER.

### I.

THE story of the great uprising of the Indians in south-eastern Peru and what is now Bolivia, west of the Andes, in 1780 and the following years has been often told. These bloody occurrences are usually represented as the outcome of a premeditated plan to destroy every vestige of Spanish domination in those countries. The head and spirit of the movement, it is said, was an Indian of the former Inca tribe, a man of means and education, the cacique of Tungasuca (in the department of Cuzco to-day) who, under the Indian name of Tupac Amaru ("shining or glistening snake," in the Quichua idiom—he signed himself Thopa Amaro) organized and directed the uprising. Too much importance has been attached to this man, and to the events that took place within the sphere of his influence and immediate command; what occurred elsewhere was of equal, nay, in many respects of greater import.

While the attempts of Tupac Amaru to capture the city of Cuzco have gained undue prominence as far as its military features are concerned, and while the execution of the chief and his family in May, 1781, has furnished a welcome pretext for English writers to divert attention from much worse cruelties committed by their own nation, the operations of Indian hordes against the city of La Paz in Bolivia, the frightful butcheries of all sexes and ages throughout the interior and in the town of Sorata, would have been (if not checked) of greater importance than anything Tupac Amaru achieved. He was not the pivot of the uprising. Had the Indians, however, succeeded in taking La Paz, the whole of the country south and east of Lake Titicaca would have been

theirs, and the vice-royalty of Peru isolated from that of Buenos Ayres.

To cast a rapid glance at events in Bolivia during that period, and dwell with greater detail on the memorable siege of La Paz and the frightful scenes enacted at Sorata on August 5, 1781, is what I propose to do in the following pages; with a view of bringing to the light facts that until now have been comparatively neglected.

Indian "outbreaks" began to occur in Peru within a century of the so-called "conquest," and they were mostly limited to that section which has since become the Republic of Bolivia. The Aymara Indians, south and west of Lake Titicaca, were always cruel, turbulent, and rigidly conservative; the story of their having been under subjection to the Inca tribe is to some extent a fable. The Incas did make some successful dashes into the regions of the lake, but they occupied this district no more permanently than any part of the slopes of the Bolivian Andes.

The earliest attempt at an uprising of any magnitude by the Aymarans, dates back to about 1623. Several Indian communities from the heart of the Bolivian Cordillera abandoned their homes, and retired to the wooded fastnesses of Challana, where it was impossible for troops to follow them. The extent and importance of this episode has been exaggerated; still, there was an uneasy feeling in northern Bolivia for about three or four years, the refugees securing (as is always the case) occasional accessions from villages on the tableland near the city of La Paz. The return of the Indians was brought about at last through the medium of Franciscan monks, one of whom was the celebrated Fray Bernardino de Cardenas, afterward Bishop of Asuncion in Paraguay. The particular cause of the outbreak seems to have been abuses by lieutenants of the Spanish Corregidores, and especially the establishment by such officers of supply-magazines in Indian pueblos, where the natives were, at least morally, coerced to purchase necessities at exorbitant prices. A royal decree of the year 1620 had abolished such abuses (of which this country has not

been free even in modern times) but the quarrelsome Indians persisted in considering themselves wronged. Display of superior force, or superstitious dread of a strong magic power (attributed to the Church and its representatives) can alone restore quiet among the Indians. As long as he thinks himself superior in numbers, or in an impregnable position, he will remain hostile, even after the original cause of complaint has been removed.

It is one of the inevitable consequences of distance from seat of power, that the efficacy of its decrees diminishes nearly in proportion to the square of that distance. Especially when the power is almost (or completely, in form) absolute. Its agents, shielded by distance and often by the nature of the country, feel themselves, comparatively, absolute also. They execute superior commands leisurely or not at all, or make such dispositions as suit their own interests. In Spanish countries there was a certain check to arbitrariness on the part of subordinates, in the inevitable "Residencia," or final account of administration upon removal from office; a wholesome dread of the dangerous "Visita," which often came "like a thief in the night" and the executors of which had sometimes the most extended faculties. But with the enormous territory to be governed perfection in the system of supervision could not be thought of, and many a criminal in office was not reached. The famous Spanish saying: "to obey without complying" originated in New Granada, but soon became a household word everywhere else—at least in South America.

Complaints about excess of taxation were of course numerous during colonial times. Still, the tributes paid by the Indians to the Crown were moderate, and many the provisions for abatement. What the Indians specially complained of, and what was the subject of strong protest on the part of higher Spanish authorities in South America, was the sale of supplies to aborigines by the Corregidores; the so-called "Repartimientos" or Distributions.

As late as 1569, traffic of every kind had been strongly prohibited to all higher officials in the Spanish Indies. The Cor-

regidores or Gobernadores were specially included in that prohibition. Little by little, however, they began to evade the salutary restrictions, and there was even a certain apparent justification for this, in the decline of resources, which began in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The Corregidores established gradually what we might term official stores—or at least official sales of merchandise. The pressure exercised upon the Indians, sometimes compelling them to buy utterly useless things at exorbitant prices did not escape the vigilance of the central authorities at Lima, and complaints against transgressing officials increased in number. Nevertheless it had to be conceded that Indian “supply agencies,” if properly and honestly carried on, were of real benefit to the natives. Only the instances of abuse have as yet been placed before the public. The numerous cases when the aborigines were allowed to supply themselves, through the Corregidor, with mules, horses, and commodities at less price and of better quality than obtained through other sources, have been as yet unnoticed, because no attention has been paid to the documents treating of such cases. It was much easier to repeat what superficial and prejudiced writers put in print, than to toil over dusty archives in independent search for the truth.

Royal decrees, dated June 15 and 23, 1751, at last authorized the sale of merchandise to Indians by the Corregidores, and tariffs were established for each Peruvian province, enumerating the kind of wares that might be sold in each, and the prices thereof. Every precaution was taken to prevent excess and abuse. These precautions were, however, of little avail, and the abuses of the Corregidores at various points show that the vigilance was either not effective, or could not be made effective owing to the condition of the country.

Not less onerous were the exactions of the clergy in rural districts. Little attention was paid to the official tariffs established by the central ecclesiastical authorities, and fees were often collected when their prohibition had been emphatic.

Lastly, the service made obligatory on the Indians, although it had been wisely organized and made as light as



possible, was a subject of constant complaint. The "mita," about which so much has been written without real knowledge of its nature, was, if conducted according to royal decrees and the laws of the Indies, not by far as onerous as is thought. The mita was a kind of "villainage" in another form adapted to the conditions of the country and of the natives, to be performed at fixed periods and for specified lengths of time. Four months every year for mines and coca plantations was the duration of this service. The number of Spanish settlers being small, the Indians had to perform their share of compulsory labor, and it was not detrimental. Comparatively little (in proportion to the amount of work performed by white laborers) was expected of the native, but even that was too much for his innate idleness, and his oft recurring ceremonial displays. What rendered the mita particularly objectionable was the forcible detention of the laborer beyond the time established by law, and removal into climates to which his constitution was not adapted. The latter the Indian did of his own accord and frequently for his own interests, and does it to-day, although it often means death. Complaints by Spaniards and officials against these abuses exist in numbers; edicts against them, and the papers relative to cases when relief was afforded through direct interferences of the Crown, abound in archives. Again I must emphasize the remark that writers would do well to study the evidence before repeating what others have asserted without proper knowledge of the subject.

It is beyond the limits of this sketch to enumerate the petty uprisings that took place among the Quichua and Aymara Indians in various parts of the vice-royalty of Peru up to 1777, when what is now Bolivia became separated from it, and annexed to the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres. It must also be remembered that the Indians of those parts of South America were, and are to-day, in almost constant warfare on a small scale among themselves. An uprising of quite a serious nature, however, took place in 1730 at Cochabamba (eastern Bolivia), but that uprising was not set on foot by Indians. It

seems that the tribute which they were accustomed to pay, which was not exacted from the Mestizos, had been evaded by many who claimed to be of mixed blood. A "visitador" was sent to examine into the matter and he announced, before reaching Cochabamba, that every one claiming such exemption should prove his descent. This brought about a violent explosion, as very few possessed the required evidence. The outbreak that followed was headed by a Mestizo, Alejo Calatayud, a silversmith of Cochabamba, who succeeded in overawing the people of the town for a short time, but the revolt was repressed after two months and the leader suffered death on January 31, 1731.

Subsequent to 1730, we meet with Indian troubles, mostly in Bolivia, in consequence of alleged excesses committed by Corregidores and curates. Corregidores were killed in several places, and local disturbances increased in number. The seed sown among the Mestizos during the insurrection of Calatayud morally assisted the aborigines in their attempts, and it was noticeable that "Cholos" (the name applied to Mestizos in Peru), especially such as performed the offices of scribes for the Indians, and the sacristans, were often at the bottom of such troubles. The part taken by what might be termed the "mixed" population in such occurrences came into prominence at Arequipa in January and February of the year 1780, as soon as it was announced that the tribute theretofore confined to Indians would now be collected from Mestizos, Mulattos, and Zambos also. This announcement was, unfortunately, followed by the establishment of a custom-house at Arequipa and an increase in excise duties. This called forth a general tumult, the "Cholos" and the blacks leading, and the Indians following in their wake. Threats were made to proclaim a hitherto unknown Indian, called "Don Casimiro," King of Peru. Concessions had to be made to the rioters in many ways and order was restored. That outbreak had no chance of success, Arequipa lying too near the coast. The time for independence had not come as yet, but the position assumed by the Mestizos encouraged the Indians, and it is not to be doubted

that, in an underhand way, the "Cholos" fomented the seeds of discontent throughout the interior.

That there ever existed an organized conspiracy on a large scale, and that Tupac Amaru played the part of Pontiac in southeastern Peru, as organizer and leader of a vast insurrection destined to involve the aborigines in western South America, is disproven by the course of events. Far away from the district in which he afterward became prominent, in central western Bolivia, an outbreak took place three months previous to the one he afterward led, and that outbreak was directed by men to whom he stood in no relation whatever, and for reasons in which he was not interested.

Three brothers, Aymara Indians from the village of Macha, named respectively Tomas, Nicolas, and Damaso Catari (viper or poisonous snake in the Aymara idiom) were the heads and souls of this movement. The first mentioned aspired to the post of Governor of Macha and, under pretext of advocating before the Audiencia of Buenos Ayres a correction of the abuses committed by the Corregidor of the Province of Chayanta, in which he resided, he set out for Buenos Ayres alone. This was in 1778. He accomplished his journey and reached that city, but without any documents to substantiate his complaints. Nevertheless, the desire to remedy wrongs committed toward the Indians was so strong in Spanish official circles that his disjointed tale was listened to, and he was sent back in safety to his native district, while greater vigilance was enjoined upon the Audiencia of Charcas (central Bolivia) and stronger corrective measures dictated against transgressing officials.

That Tomas Catari could, alone and with little means, make the journey to Buenos Ayres without molestation shows (since his object was known to the Spanish authorities) that there was no impediment offered to any attempt on the part of the Indians to seek proper redress. The main trouble with the superior authorities in Spanish America seems to have been that the offices were filled by persons from Europe, whose well-intended, but often ill-timed and impractical measures of relief, became a dead letter in consequence of that defect.

When Catari returned to his village he was of course looked upon by the Indians as a prodigy, and his stories listened to with superstitious awe. He pretended to have obtained from the authorities at Buenos Ayres a decree ordaining reduction of the tribute, and immediately the Indians rose in arms to enforce its execution. The Corregidores were murdered, the Spanish settlers massacred, and the insurrection spread so that the central authorities became alarmed. Tomas Catari had been captured, but the Audiencia of Charcas was unwise enough to set him free, notwithstanding that he was known to be the originator of the disturbances. Instead of quieting the Indians, this was taken by them as an evidence of weakness, and the uprising began to look dangerous. Horrible were the atrocities perpetrated by the Aymaras. Neither age nor sex was spared, no sanctuary proved immune. The floors of churches ran with blood, the altars reeked with it. The waves of the commotion, like those of an earthquake, caused the soil of other sections to tremble, and thus the uprising spread, through its own impetus, without preconcerted organization. The beginning of these horrible scenes in central western Bolivia took place in August, 1780. Three months later, Tupac Amaru assassinated Don Ramon Arriaga at Tinta in southwestern Peru, beginning his career of devastation about Cuzco and Luno. That there may have been some communication between the leaders is very probable. Noteworthy it is that, as most of the Indian leaders could neither read nor write (Tupac Amaru and some of his relatives excepted) their scribes and intimate advisers were Mestizos, who therefore appear as chief abettors and possibly promoters of the bloody catastrophe.

The Aymara of Chayanta and adjacent sections, after Tomas Catari had perished, together with the escort carrying him to what is now called the city of Sucre (then called La Plata) looked to his brothers Nicolas and Damaso as leaders. Enough Indians were gotten together to warrant an onslaught upon the city of La Plata. In the meantime the feeble garrison at that place had received, as military commander of the province, the captain of cavalry, Don Ignacio Flores, together

with a reinforcement of five hundred men—all that Buenos Ayres could spare. The Indians, to the number of several thousand, occupied an elevated site called La Punilla, a short distance above the city of La Plata. From that advantageous position they were dislodged on February 20, 1781, and dispersed. The two Catari fell into the hands of the Spanish forces, and were executed. But the troubles continued in southern Bolivia. The Indians of Tupiza and Cotagaita committed atrocities in the first three months of the year 1781 and had to be subdued by force of arms. In the meantime the outbreak north of Lake Titicaca, headed by Tupac Amaru, was taking its course. Few villages in the jurisdiction of Cuzco were not either cajoled into joining the rebellion or forced into it. Still there were some who resisted and became valuable auxiliaries to the Spanish cause. Tupac Amaru, after pretending first that his mission was only to correct the abuses of Corregidores and priests, soon assumed the title of viceroy and Marquis of Alcañices, and finally proclaimed himself King of Peru under the name of Joseph I. The assumption of the royal title did not make him any more popular with the Indians—on the contrary, it loosened the ties that bound them to him, and it is untrue that he was recognized anywhere except by his personal following. He had edicts in Spanish circulated outside of Peru, but they proved dead letters. The Indians, where they rose up, did so under the influence of their local leaders, of their Shamans, and at the secret instigation of Mestizos and of Creoles, who hoped, in case of success, to obtain the ascendancy. The military career of Tupac Amaru shows him to have been anything but a great leader. He achieved some partial successes, which created great alarm among the wholly unprepared Spaniards, but as soon as a reasonable force could be gathered at Cuzco his attempts to capture that city utterly failed. Discouragement set in among his followers and discontent, called forth by his arrogance and arbitrary conduct, so that his capture at Lóngui and surrender to the Spanish commander was not, as has been represented, the result of bribery, but an act of personal animosity and revenge on the

part of his own Indians. His execution was cruel indeed, but not any more so than judicial torture, and when one has been in the midst of Indian outbreaks and has witnessed the nameless deeds accompanying them, he can understand the indignation and thirst for exemplary punishment which they arouse.

The various Indian uprisings of 1780 and 1781 were not as extended as is generally believed. In the north the jurisdiction of Cuzco was chiefly disturbed; further than that district the outbreak did not spread. In the west it did not cross the chain of volcanic peaks rising along the confines of eastern Chili; in the south the northern provinces of the Argentine Republic of to-day were the limit, and in the east only the valleys that hug the upper slopes of the Bolivian Andes and which were inhabited by Aymara Indians (the so-called Yungas of Bolivia) took part in the disturbances. Hence there was no connection between the events of 1780 and 1781 and the great outbreak of the Campas or Chunchos of 1745, which devastated the Franciscan Missions of the Pampa del Sacramento. It was properly an insurrection of the whole of the Aymara of Bolivia and southwestern Peru, and their immediate Quichua neighbors. The Aymara, not the Quichua, were really the standard-bearers of revolt, and the military events of greatest importance took place in their range. Of the various cities founded south of Lake Titicaca two, Oruro and La Paz, became the objective points of Indian aggression after Sucre (La Plata) had been threatened. An outbreak took place in the Puna district of Cochabamba in February, 1781, and assumed threatening proportions, but the Indians were subdued before the first of May.

At Oruro disgraceful scenes were enacted by the Cholos, and at the instigation of wealthy Creoles. They were aimed at the Spanish authorities and residents. These disturbances had no connection with the Indian rebellion, save that the unsettled state of the country and the military weakness of the Spaniards were taken advantage of in order to satisfy personal revenge and jealousy. The Indians were brought in as acces-

sories toward the end, but soon dismissed. Events at Oruro in the early part of February, 1781, could not assume the proportions of a great uprising of Creoles and Mestizos, for the reason that they were isolated, and the Indians too dangerous an element to use. It was different in La Paz.

That settlement—which then contained about thirty thousand inhabitants, Spaniards, Creoles, but mostly Mestizos and Aymara Indians—was the seat of Spanish wealth in the extreme Peruvian southeast. The gold-bearing districts around the northern spurs of the great range terminating with the Sorata chain were administered from La Paz; the warm valleys east of the chain, Yungas, with its coca plantations, tropical fruit, and coffee, had no other outlet than that city; the valleys descending to the south along the La Paz river teemed with vines, fruit-trees, and some cereals, while the flanks of Illimani and the bleak Puna in the south, west, and north, grew potatoes and raised cattle and sheep. The most numerous Aymara population clustered near it, and had these Indians succeeded in capturing and holding La Paz, they might have severed the vice-royalty of Peru from that of Buenos Ayres and held a permanent base of supplies and operations. While such considerations may have been entertained by some of the Mestizos who sympathized with the aborigines, they did not enter into the minds of the Indians. To them La Paz was only a center of Spanish wealth, completely unfortified: therefore a convenient slaughter-pen for the white inhabitants whom they believed to be defenceless, the reward of slaughter being rich booty.

The bulk of the Aymara south and east of Lake Titicaca did not begin to move immediately after the uprising of the Cataris. Still it soon became evident that the conflagration was extending toward their ranges. On January 1, 1781, there came to La Paz, as commander of the town and its few soldiers, Don Sebastian de Seguro, former Corregidor of the Province of Larecaja, where Sorata lies. He had been selected by the Audiencia of Charcas to take charge of La Paz and the adjacent provinces without delay. He found that the city author-

ities, justly alarmed at the outlook, had already ordered the casting of twenty-four small pieces of bronze artillery, the making of lances, and the purchasing of powder and lead, copper and tin. Anticipating to be cut off from all sides, Segurola also tried to lay in provisions, but in this was only partly successful, for the year had been sterile and the Indians removed or concealed their stores. Nor was the supply of firearms adequate, there being only a hundred muskets, besides a few shotguns in the hands of citizens. Segurola proceeded to entrench the city as well as possible. La Paz lies at the bottom of a very narrow cleft running northwest and southeast. On the west the brink of the tableland or Puna overlooks it from a height of 1400 feet. In the north the La Paz river descends through the gorge from a still greater height. On the east are elevated crags, and the gorge of the La Paz river to the southeast is very narrow, tortuous, and dominated by towering cliffs. It is a picturesque sight to see the red-roofed city far down below, but long residence there is depressing, and as a military position it is, at present at least, untenable. Still Segurola surrounded with parapets the nucleus of the town, where the government buildings, churches, and convents were and the white and mixed part of the inhabitants dwelt, using now and then a prominent building as a *point d'appui*. Along these fortifications he distributed his guns as well as possible, and left outside of their circle the three parishes of Indian inhabitants who were utterly unreliable. All this had to be done with the greatest haste. At the same time Segurola sent to all the whites and Mestizos, bidding them seek the shelter of the town with their families. Few came; the sequel proved how foolish they were to disregard his summons. He succeeded in gathering within the walls of La Paz a most heterogeneous body of about fifteen hundred men at arms, the nucleus of which were some one hundred and seventy Spanish soldiers. Neither did Segurola neglect the outlying provinces. He sent ammunition, even a small body of troops to Sorata, and caused the white and mixed settlers there to organize a force of two thousand men. All this had to be done



in less than two months, and in the midst of a commotion steadily growing.

The events at Oruro were nearly contemporary with the uprising of the Indians of the populous district of Sicasica, south of La Paz about sixty miles. Thence the insurrection reached the gorges ("Quebradas") of Sapahaqui and Caracato. Unspeakable were the horrors perpetrated everywhere by the Indians, and well might the victims deplore their not having obeyed the call of Seguro. At last the insurrection spread to the Puna, west of La Paz, to the neighboring village of Viacha. Then it was time for Seguro to force the issue outside of the city. He sent an expedition to Viacha on March 2, while he, in person, with sixty grenadiers, six hundred foot men armed with lances only, and four small guns, marched to Laja four days later. Both Viacha and Laja were in open revolt, and the Indians of La Paz refused cooperation. Learning that the main body of insurgents was threatening the city in his rear Seguro ordered Laja to be set on fire, and began to retreat so as not to be cut off.

As soon as the Spanish force approached the "alto," or brow of the Puna that overlooks the city in the west, the Indians attacked in great force. Seguro then saw how little he could depend upon the Mestizos. During the night they deserted him and fled to the town below, while the Indians from La Paz joined the rebels or went about plundering and killing the wounded. The insurgents were estimated at over ten thousand. Although destitute of firearms, they did considerable execution with the slings and stones which were their principal weapons, bows and arrows not being in use among them. At daybreak, the commander was again at La Paz, having lost several efficient men and officers, and gained the knowledge that he could not rely upon the half-breeds constituting the bulk of his forces: that his only dependence was on about three hundred men, Spanish troops and such Creoles, as had everything to lose in case the Indians captured the city. On the following day the Aymara crowded the brink of the cleft from south to northwest in considerable numbers. A body of about

three hundred men from Sorata, who approached the "alto" from the north in hopes of reenforcing the garrison of La Paz, was wiped out by the rebels on March 18th. An attempt on the part of Segurola to succor them failed through the cowardice of the militia, so that the commander had to make the discouraging comment: "On this occasion and on others, the men proved how little confidence could be placed in them." With this gloomy perspective before the commander the siege of La Paz began.

On March 27th the valley of the La Paz river in the south was overrun by Indians from Yungas and Sicasica. Soon after the heights east and north were seized. The city was surrounded completely and cut off from the outer world. With barely three hundred reliable soldiers, Segurola undertook to save thirty thousand people from the fury of about fifteen thousand bloodthirsty aborigines. These were exclusively Aymara and from the jurisdiction of the city. The most distant of them came from not over a hundred miles away. They acknowledged to a certain extent a common leader, though there were continuous bickerings, and frequent protests against his authority. That leader is said to have been the son of a sacristan of the village of Ayo-Ayo, about fifty miles south of La Paz. His real name was Julian Apaza, but he assumed the surname of Tupac Catari, made up of two languages, *Tupac* in Quichua meaning bright or shining, while *Catari* in Aymara signifies a viper. The Apaza family (mostly half-breeds) exists to-day, and they all claim to hail from the hamlet of Sull-Kaui near Ayo-Ayo. Julian Apaza distinguished himself by uncommon ferocity at the very inception of trouble in his district. He was, besides, so far as I have been able to find out, a Shaman of some fame among the Indians.

A certain amount of ability can not be denied to this otherwise repulsive creature. He secured a remarkable ascendancy over the Indians, and sometimes acted in the most despotic manner. He was not always implicitly obeyed, but certainly he was dreaded by his own people. Certain tricks, that are exclusive property of the Indian medicine man, the performance

of which coincide with striking occurrences; prognostications by means of coca leaves, which accidentally come true, are the principal means by which an Indian wizard obtains a hold on his followers. Add to this the excitement of the Indians, the continuous shedding of blood to which they had become accustomed, and it is easy to see how a Shaman can secure a controlling position and hold it *as long as he is successful*.

Tupac Catari was completely illiterate, but he kept a scribe and confidential adviser. This was of course a Mestizo, and from La Paz, a half-breed by the name of Bonifacio Chuquimamani. Here we see again how the Mestizos took part in the uprising, how far they secretly prompted and directed the Indians by superior intelligence.

Tupac Catari had the one great failing common to Indians and Cholos—that of intemperance. During the long blockade of La Paz he was not often without liquor. He had acquired a taste for bloodshed when the outbreak began, and a thirst for it developed later, when he found himself the principal war-chief of thousands of bloodthirsty Indians. His excesses of drink produced fits of insanity during which he caused horrible cruelties to be perpetrated. His wife, a Chola woman, was less intemperate, and while she sometimes fostered his crimes, she also occasionally moderated his excesses. The scribe however seems to have been the faithful follower of his master in everything evil and to have inspired his worst atrocities.

With Tupac Amaru, Apaza stood in no direct relations. As the influence of the Cataris was limited to their own neighborhood, and Tupac Amaru's was confined to the Cuzco district, so Apaza's power extended only to a short distance north of La Paz. The cause was a common one: extermination of the whites—not the re-establishment of a fancied empire embracing all of Bolivia and southern Peru.

Before the Indians invested La Paz, they endeavored to wipe out the white (and some of the Mestizo) population in their districts. In this they succeeded at Sicasica, in the "Quebrada" or gorge of the La Paz river, also on the Puna to the west. The whites in the Yungas valleys, east of the

Andes, and their negro slaves, were still offering resistance but at last succumbed. The final blow in the Yungas region was struck on Holy Thursday, 1781, when five hundred and seventy-two whites and blacks, of all ages and sexes, were slaughtered in and around the church of Coroico. In the north, communications between La Paz and Sorata were cut off, and the whites in the neighborhood of Sorata were exterminated or were shut up in that town. The number of men defending Sorata was about 2200, but these were ill-armed militia only, who, nevertheless, held the enemy at bay behind ramparts of earth.

Although the numbers of the besiegers of La Paz were formidable in proportion to those of the defenders, sallies became indispensable for the purpose of obtaining victuals. The Indians kept their cattle almost within sight of the city. On March 26th a sortie was made to the east and southeast. The little valley of Potopoto which runs parallel to the cleft of La Paz, was crossed by a force of six hundred men and four guns with little or no opposition, but as soon as the steep heights beyond had to be scaled the militia gave way in disorderly flight, leaving fifty grenadiers and as many faithful Creoles armed with shotguns, to protect the artillery. Overwhelmed by numbers, this small body suffered great losses, about thirty of them being killed; while twenty-five muskets and shotguns, and the four howitzers with their ammunition, fell into the hands of the Indians. From that day on the rebels opened active operations against the city. The buildings outside the ramparts were fired by them and they assaulted the earthworks with desperate courage. These attacks always cost the feeble garrison a few lives, and such losses could not be replaced. The besiegers were careful to have every piece of news of an irritating or disheartening character communicated to the people of the beleaguered city. Constant communication existed between the Mestizo scribe Chuquimamani, and the half-breeds in the town. For Segurola the situation was dismal—non-combatants beginning to feel the scarcity of supplies, and the unceasing vigilance required day and night telling on the constitution of his strongest men.

Until April 9th the Indians made no use of the artillery they had captured, but the buildings they had ruined outside the earthworks furnished them with secure hiding-places near the fortifications. Two sallies, in different directions, made simultaneously on April 5th had no other result than to again prove the unreliability of the Mestizo militia. As hostilities became continuous no quarter was given. The use of firearms by the Indians grew more frequent. Bullets whistled through the streets and two of the four "Pedereros" or howitzers were firing at the city almost daily, though with hardly any effect. The powder for the guns was made by the Indians themselves, under the direction of the half-breeds. On April 9th Tupac Catari approached the ramparts to hold a parley with Segurola. He came on horseback accompanied by a very gaudy escort. The "Lord Viceroy," as he is termed in the documents written in his behalf by the Cholo Chuquimamani, being hopelessly drunk, a Quichua Indian from Azángaro in Peru, had to act as spokesman. The demands were unconditional surrender of all the whites and demolition of the earthworks. The Indians got a peremptory refusal, but took revenge by capturing several soldiers that had imprudently gone outside the fortifications during the truce. They were afterward murdered, except one, Mariano Murillo, whom the Indians compelled to manage their artillery. He consented with the mental reservation of pointing the guns wherever he pleased. The loss of these men was partly compensated for a few days later by the capture of an Indian from Azángaro, a very young man called Pedro Obaya. The besiegers had laid a dangerous trap. Their Mestizo scribe forged a letter to Segurola informing him that a relief expedition would appear on the Alto April 27th. On that day they even feigned an engagement on the heights, some of the Indians dressing in uniforms taken from dead soldiers. When nobody stirred in the town, Obaya, slightly intoxicated, dashed up to the ramparts clamoring for help against imaginary pursuers. He was immediately secured, and executed after having made important revelations.

The nature of these revelations was not encouraging.

Everywhere the Indians were masters, Sorata alone holding out. There had been a schism against Tupac Catari among the Indians of Sicasica, but he had subdued this revolt with some bloodshed, and was now again free to act against La Paz, or rather, to execute the plans framed by his scribe, the Cholo Chuquimamani. The only faint hope left was in Don Ignacio Flores, who, it was reported, had gone to Cochabamba for the purpose of organizing an expedition to relieve La Paz.

But was it possible to hold out until relief came? The feeble garrison daily weakening in numbers and in power of endurance, the people discouraged—many of them secretly abetting the Indians—and, above all, with famine rapidly setting in! Already children and women were dying of hunger. All the cattle had been eaten. Wheat was selling at two dollars a pound. One of the few faithful Indians at last ventured to carry a message to Flores, to the effect that, if assistance did not come quickly, the city contrary to the wish of its commander, would surrender to the Indians. The messenger succeeded in effecting his return with word that relief was near at hand, and that all efforts should be made to hold out until it arrived.

Toward the end of May the death rate became fearful. Casualties were of daily occurrence; famine and disease were swelling the ranks of the victims. Long ditches had to be opened in the city to bury the dead. The Indians proved unable to pierce or storm the breastworks, but on the other hand the sorties organized by Segurola usually failed, owing to the cowardice or treachery of the militia. On the sixth of June the Indians sent the unfortunate gunner, Mariano Murillo, back to La Paz. They had discovered that he was pointing the pieces too high, hence cut off both his forearms, leaving the unfortunate man close to the ramparts, where he was discovered and picked up by some of the soldiers. He died two days afterward.

On the second of June, the besieged, to their consternation, noticed that the artillery of the besiegers consisted of six instead of four pieces, and that two of these were of heavier

caliber and supplied with balls of lead. This looked very ominous, and as it was known that measures were being taken for relieving La Paz from Cochabamba, apprehensions of disaster to the relief expedition arose. They were only too well-grounded.

Tupac Catari knew more about that expedition than the people of La Paz, so he left for Sicasica with a considerable force on the seventeenth of May. The relief party from Cochabamba had reached Sicasica before him and were imprudently advancing during the night. At Patacamaya they were surprised and dispersed, with the loss of one hundred men, four guns, and one hundred and twenty muskets. The first news of this disaster was carried to La Paz by the unfortunate Murillo, and confirmed by an insolent epistle to Segurola written by the Mestizo secretary, and signed in the name of "I, the Lord Viceroy, Tupac Catari." The alarm at La Paz knew no bounds. Segurola alone did not despair. He had, about the same time, received a long report from a Franciscan priest, Fray Matias de la Borda, in which the latter gave a vivid description of events along the western shores of Lake Titicaca, where as early as March, the Indians had butchered nearly all the whites at villages and haciendas, sparing only some of the priests at Copacavana. From among these, Catari compelled one to come to his headquarters, and remain with him as spiritual adviser and confessor. Father Borda rightly judged that this was from no religious motive, but an expedient counseled by the Mestizo scribe, who could not fail to notice that his master's deportment toward the Indians was creating disaffection. By attaching a priest, especially a priest belonging to one of the Orders to the retinue of the chieftain, Chuquimamani hoped to secure his influence over the Indians and prevent schisms in the camps around La Paz.

It was no agreeable task for Father Borda. He found several other ecclesiastics in the power of the Indians, and during his captivity a number of priests were killed, either in their parishes or in the camps. The picture which Father Borda drew of the besiegers may be reviewed as follows:

The force was divided into twenty-four "Cabildos," literally, municipal sections, and at the head of each was a sort of council. Tupac Catari himself dwelt on the "Alto" in a large tent gaudily decorated. He is described as a man of about thirty years of age, and his wife as an Indian woman of twenty-six. Both were fantastically dressed, and surrounded by crowds equally motley in appearance, and Catari was "drunk two hours out of twenty-four." His "court" was a clumsy caricature. He had negro men and women to cook his meals, and sometimes as many as thirty courses were served. There was constant going and coming of chiefs and messengers at the "palace" (as the tent was called), and while the orders of Catari were generally obeyed there was much dissatisfaction among the leaders of the various "Cabildos." A common tie, that of crime and of reliance upon the ultimate capture of La Paz, also a superstitious dread of the priests whom Catari kept—although these were in durance, and under constant threats and frequent ill-treatment—prevented outbreaks against his tyranny. Life in the encampment of the besiegers was a monstrous orgy of carousals as well as of blood. The veritable director of the entire siege was the Cholo Chuquimamani who, while apparently but a secretary, in reality controlled his master, and through him the fifteen thousand Indians under him.

After the artillery and firearms had been secured from the unlucky Cochabambinos, attacks by the Indians became more daring and tenacious. The guns played on the city sometimes day and night. On June 14th, the feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated by the besiegers in plain view of the besieged, and in a manner showing a curious mixture of the Christian and aboriginal. Six priests were compelled to say Mass, while the Indians performed their ancient ceremonial dances around them. Such dances they celebrated almost every night and on many days during the investment. Segurola, noticing that the ceremony diverted a considerable force from supporting two guns posted elsewhere on the "Alto," made a sortie with two hundred and forty men, being careful not to trust the Mes-



tizos. With this weary and famished troop, forty of whom were mounted on mules that had been kept alive on rotten mats and straw from the roofs, he reached the heights, dislodged the enemy (who hurriedly threw the artillery down the cliffs), captured the tent of Catari, much stolen silver plate and, what was of greater value, some food, especially fruit from Yungas.

Three days later the whole force of the besiegers made a formidable onslaught on the city during the night. They succeeded in setting fire to a house inside the earthworks, but had to withdraw at sunrise. The attack was repeated on the night of the nineteenth of June. Afterward the Indians quieted down, and two sorties made with small bodies of picked men, on the twentieth and twenty-first, revealed that the numbers of the besiegers had considerably diminished. It leaked out that a larger and stronger relief force than the first, and under personal command of Flores, was marching upon La Paz, and that Catari had gone to arrest its progress in the vicinity of Sicasica. On June 29th news was obtained through an escaped prisoner that Flores had forced his way through the enemy, dispersing them completely. On the last day of June the rest of the Indians precipitately abandoned the "Alto," and soon after the royal standard of Spain floated over its brow, while officers and men from the relief forces were coming down the steep declivity to greet the defenders with glad tidings.

The spectacle which they met was more than dismal. The one hundred and nine days' siege had not only converted the town, with the exception of its center, into smouldering ruins, it had also considerably reduced the numbers of the inhabitants. More than one-third of the able-bodied men had perished in action, about four hundred more had been killed outside of the fortifications in ill-timed attempts to gather herbs or pasture for the animals. Every dog, cat, and most of the horses and mules had been eaten. Six dollars were being paid for a famished feline, and thirty dollars for a fallen mule. When even that supply became exhausted, the hides of deceased animals and the leather of trunks were devoured. Of two thousand mules only forty remained. The others, after perishing

from hunger or disease, had been eaten. That the losses of the besiegers were considerable is certain, but their extent can only be surmised. On July 1st Flores sent down supplies, and soon after he began, jointly with Seguro, to carry the war into the surrounding country. Everywhere the Indians withdrew to fastnesses where the troops were not strong enough to pursue them. La Paz was relieved and revictualled. But—

The appearance of Flores and his corps had resulted in the capture of the woman whom Catari proclaimed as his wife, giving her the title of "vice-queen," of his Mestizo secretary, and of the Indian who despatched the messengers and correspondence of the leader. The moral effect of such captures is often greater among Indians than a loss of many men. Still the insurgents did not, as was expected, submit by detachments or sections to the now increased Spanish force. The troops commanded by Flores were not numerous enough to warrant a decided offensive stand against the Indians. They numbered barely seventeen hundred men. To remain at La Paz would not have been practical, since the supplies were insufficient. With the Indians in possession of the whole country and its resources, the reinforcements could not have remained at La Paz longer than a month, when everything would have been consumed and the city would then have to be abandoned. So Flores had to leave La Paz for a second time at the mercy of the enemy. He placed at Seguro's disposal whatever men he could spare, eighty soldiers and forty volunteers, all the supplies not indispensable to his own troops, and set out for the south on August 5th. The Indians had expected all this, and at once reappeared on the "alto" in swarms, while their main body approached from the opposite direction. Shortly after Flores started, La Paz was again in a state of siege. It had even been impossible, owing to insubordination of the Cochabamba militia, to send the non-combatants along with Flores, so that conditions at the city remained almost unchanged. There were more provisions, but one hundred and twenty men more to feed. Deep was the gloom over the place and its inmates, for the *second siege of La Paz had begun.*



*P. J. De Smet S.J.*



PERSONAL LETTERS OF REV. P. J. DE SMET, S.J.,  
NOW PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME.

TRANSLATED BY JOHN E. CAHALAN, A.M.

In the Life of the famous Indian Missionary, the Rev. Pierre Jean De Smet, S.J., compiled by Messrs. Chittenden and Richardson, it is related:

“Wherever he went, whatever he did, and much of what he saw were carefully recorded in letters to his Superiors, or to his personal friends; and altogether these constitute a rich fund of material upon the early history of the West.”

It is our privilege to supply in the present volume a few of those personal letters, which have hitherto been laid away with pious care in the possession of one of our esteemed fellow-members.

They form part of a number that have been placed at our disposal through the very great kindness of Miss Rosine M. Parmentier, of Brooklyn. We expect to present the remainder of the collection in the next number of *Records and Studies*.

Most of the letters were addressed to Miss Parmentier's mother, Madame Sophie Parmentier, who took a lively interest in the Indian Missions and aided them liberally. A few were addressed to Miss Rosine herself. All were written in French; but the reader may rest assured that we have tried to prevent anything from being lost in the translation.

Possibly some one of our readers may have occasion to inquire: “Who was Father De Smet?” For although some of us were to an extent his contemporaries, and met him, heard him lecture, etc., yet a new generation has displaced the majority since the good Father went to his reward; and the human mind is prone to be otherwise occupied in these strenuous days than in scanning the past or nursing its reminiscences. So it may not be amiss to recall, as briefly as we

may, the main points in the career of the distinguished American Missionary.

Pierre Jean De Smet was born at Termonde, Belgium, during the first month of the nineteenth century—Jan. 30, 1801. At the age of twenty he came to the United States with the avowed purpose of becoming a Missionary, and upon his arrival entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Whitemarsh in Maryland. The scene of his great active life as a Jesuit priest was set among the tribes of the Oregon country. By dint of utter self-denial and invincible patience and perseverance in his labors he was not only exceptionally successful in bringing the light of Faith to tribe after tribe of the poor Indians, but he likewise won their strong personal admiration and loyal devotion. He was taken into their confidence and friendship and his counsel was sought as well in their temporal as their spiritual interests.

Aware of the eminent influence of this simple Jesuit priest over the Western tribes, our Government was often glad to call upon him as a mediator—a pacifier. Even as recently as 1868, when the Sioux, with Sitting Bull at their head, were on the warpath and in their fiercest mood, Rev. Father De Smet was besought to go and induce them to arbitrate for peace.

It was a perilous mission, especially for a worn-out man, verging towards seventy. But he promptly accepted the charge. His preference would have been to depart as the plain "Black-robe;" but the Government insisted on conferring an actual, temporal dignity on its representative, and so it came to pass that the humble Jesuit priest went forth duly commissioned as Major De Smet, U. S. A.

His mission was successful, and the Government officially thanked him. It will be proper to add the testimony given at the time by U. S. General Stanley:

"Father De Smet alone of the entire white race could penetrate to these cruel savages and return safe and sound. One of the chiefs, in speaking to him while he was in the hostile camp, exclaimed: 'If it had been any other man than you, Black-robe, this day would have been his last.'"

Rev. Father De Smet had also done other patriotic service for the Government, and at times had been the bearer of special despatches from Washington to different European courts.

His life-long struggle among the savages was singularly free from personal ill-treatment. Many of his brethren before his time had confessed the Faith in the ebb of their life-blood, and these possibly, by the grace of Heaven, had helped to win the immunity which Father De Smet apparently enjoyed in that respect.

Yet it must likewise be true that even in missionary labor there are methods and methods, not all of which are equally judicious at all times; and if we seek to account in a strictly human way for Father De Smet's marvelous success, it may be suggested that he but reaped as he had sowed. Never was the Indian a monster in his eyes. Far from it. Nowhere throughout his records does he depict them as a corrupt or treacherous race. His denunciations indeed are reserved for the malefactors among his own white people in their relations to the red man.

He discerned a host of good things in the Indian, and these he labored to develop and strengthen. He had always the highest respect for his "dear savages" and manifested a perfect confidence in their loyalty. The Indians learned to appreciate this unaccustomed humanity; their pride in their own best points was stimulated, and they returned to their dear "Black-robe" all the respect and veneration that his example inspired.

Then again one redeeming, native quality of the Indian was his aversion to cowardice; and beholding the Black-robe coming among them without trepidation, daring every hardship and death itself, in the determination to give them a higher conception of their own "Great Spirit," with no other weapon in hand than the inoffensive Cross, with clearly no other purpose in view than what he believed to be for their benefit—they were roused to an admiration of the man and the Faith he was championing.

Thus was established the basis upon which their religious instruction began, and they accepted with docility the burden

of self-restraint that comes inseparably with the consolations of the religion of Jesus Christ.

It is hard to be brief on so vast a theme. But these remarks have already exceeded the proposed limit. The U. S. Catholic Historical Society cherishes the hope that these letters will prove interesting to its members, and serve to keep alive the precious memory of one of that noble group of Catholic Missionary priests who, *sans peur et sans reproche*, personally carried the boon of Christianity to the savage, and most patriotically contributed, by their sweat and their blood, to the transformation of our Western wilderness into a land of civilization and industry, where millions of Christian people now find a home amidst peace and prosperity.

A. M. D. G.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Feb. 6, 1847.

MADAME:

I feel quite ashamed of my failure to reply until now to your kind letters of Sept. 2 and Dec. 7, 1844. They did not reach the Rocky Mountains until the following year, and at that time I was far away giving missions among the Indians. It was not until July 1846 that I received your letters. If it had depended merely on me to send you an answer long before this date, my heart tells me that I would have done so without delay. For I must assure you, here and now, that the debt of gratitude which my poor savages and I have contracted towards you is very great; and I was anxious to let you know that we are praying earnestly for you, for your dear good children, and for all your excellent intentions.

I directed all the Indians of the three nations, the Flat-heads, the Pend d'Oreilles, and the Cœur d'Alenes, to recite the Rosary once a week for one of their greatest friends, meaning yourself. You know that the beads are said in all the poor Indian families and I am happy to assure you that thousands of Rosaries have been offered for you to God and His Blessed Mother. And these children of the forest, these good Indians, so dear to my heart, will go right on proving their gratitude until I tell them to stop—which I am not likely soon to do.



O, what faith I have in the prayers of these poor savages, whose merits are known to God alone. Ah, if it is true that the prayers of him who is endowed with innocence, simplicity and childlike confidence, pierce the heavens, are all-powerful, are invariably granted, then rest assured that in these new Missions where the finger of God is so manifest, and those virtues abound, the prayer of the Indian will also prevail.

I should be very happy, kind lady, if I could make you realize how great, how gentle, how sweet is their devotion to the great Mother of God. The name of Mary expressed in the Indian tongue is so indicative of gentleness and affection as to be in the Indians' estimation a name to be invoked. Their heart softens and seems to be utterly poured out when these excellent children of the forests sound the praises of her whom, like ourselves, they call their Mother. O, knowing them as I do, I am convinced they hold a high place in the esteem of the Blessed Mother, and that Mary invoked by so many and such devoted souls, will obtain for you all that you ask. I know your devotion too well to suppose that you would ask anything but what might tend to the glory of God and aid you and yours in the sanctification of your souls. What follows is taken from my Diary of 1845. Now allow me to give you an account of my Indians and myself since the time I had the honor of speaking with you in Brooklyn in the spring of 1843.

Nov. 6, 1844—the following year, about the time you were penning me your letters, Rev. Adrien Hocken came to meet me, accompanied by many Indians of the Pends d'oreilles tribe from the Bay, a place where I had contemplated opening a Mission two years before. Every mark of friendship and gladness at my return among them was exhibited. They led me in triumph to their camp and I was received in the midst of a roaring of guns and the clanging of bells. It would be impossible for me to describe to you the emotions of my heart neophytes who had been praying so earnestly for me—that of God, and to portray the real happiness which evidently thrilled them on that occasion. What a lot of news we had to

tell each other! I went into the minutest details, so interesting to them, of the great territory I had traveled over for the welfare and advantage of the Indian, since I had bid them good-by fifteen months before. I had crossed the great American wilderness, through so many warlike and wandering tribes—from the Pacific coast to the boundaries of the State of Missouri. I had been through the United States from New Orleans as far as Boston; I had crossed the Atlantic; I had seen a large portion of Ireland and of England and all of Belgium; all Holland; France from north to south. From Marseilles I had gone to Genoa, the city of palaces, to Livorno, to Civita Vecchia, to visit the metropolis of the Christian world, and then from Rome to Antwerp—afterwards past Cape Horn, touching at Chile and Peru, crossing and recrossing the Equator. I had landed at Ft. Vancouver on the Columbia River, and lastly, Nov. 6, 1844, I again found myself face to face with my dear neophytes who had been praying so earnestly for me—that during all these long travels by sea and by land, through all kinds of climate, and at all seasons of the year, not the slightest illness, nor regrettable accident should befall me.

Glory and praise to God alone for a special protection, and a thousand thanks to the good Indians who during my absence had night and morning implored the assistance of Heaven for its unworthy servant!

The account given me as to their present disposition is too interesting to omit it here, and I give it as evidence of the influence of Grace on a well-intentioned people. Every recommendation I had made to them during my visits of 1841 and 1842 had been strictly followed.

"The first thing that struck me," Rev. Father Adrien Hocken writes me, "on my arrival among them, was the brotherly kindness and complete union that appeared to animate them all, and to bind them into a single family. The love, obedience and respect they extend to their chieftains are very great and—a thing most admirable—although these chiefs are three in number, they claim that 'their mouths utter and their hearts desire one and the same thing.' The chieftains here are

as much the real fathers of the nations as a good Superior can be of a religious community. The chiefs among the Kalispels speak quietly but never without result. Scarcely have they spoken when you instantly behold the Indian alert to carry out their wish and proposal. If some one is in trouble, in any special need, or ill, or does he wish to make a trip—long or short—he consults with his chief and abides by his advice. Even in questions of marriage, the Indians apply to the chiefs, who approve, postpone, or forbid, accordingly as they consider wise or suitable for the individuals concerned. The chief, as a father, strives to provide the food. He accordingly directs the hunting and fishing expeditions, and the gathering of vegetables and fruit. All the game and the fish that are taken are brought to his tent, and are there divided and distributed in as many shares as there are different families. All is done impartially—the old man, the invalid, the widow receive their share alongside of the hunter himself. Is not this in some respect the return of the golden age—of those happy times when all was in common, and all, as the Apostle relates, had but one heart and one soul? Complaints, murmurings and back-biting are here unknown. Blasphemy never escaped the tongue of an Indian—there is no word in his language that could express it.

On the arrival of the Black-robe, the great chief related to him with patriarchal modesty, how they were all living. "We are poor in spirit," he added, "but to-day that we have the happiness of having a Black-robe with us, we shall listen to him, we shall follow his word and any change he may care to make shall be adopted." It is unnecessary to say that the "Black-robe" supported and approved whatever good habits and practices he found in this remote corner of the world, where, with so little to encourage them and despite their poverty, each one seemed satisfied and happy.

It is touching to hear them talk of the darkness they were in so long, and to see them now so glad in the light of the Gospel, in the knowledge of Christian virtue, which they esteem, which above all seems to inflame them.

Their only ambition and glory consists in being filled with the word of God. It is what the young man seeks in his future wife—the young woman in her future husband. In their leisure moments they surround and besiege, if I may say so, their Missionary. They would prolong the day into the night if he had the strength to go on talking with them of Heavenly things.

Pride, human respect are unknown to them. How often do we behold old men with white hair—even chiefs—seated beside a boy of ten or twelve years, teaching him the symbols of the Catholic Faith, with all the seriousness of a professor—and the child, on his part, paying for one or two hours the complete attention of a school-boy.

In their trials and misfortunes, in times of distress, when game and fish are scarce, no sign of complaint escapes them. They are resigned, quiet, at rest—just as though nothing was happening—attributing their woes to their own sins; and for whatever good, or success they enjoyed to God alone they gave credit and glory.

The usual residence of the Kalispels—the place where the settlement or village of St. Ignatius is at present established, is a vast plain called Kalispels' Bay, thirty or forty miles from the mouth of the river Clark and the territory of the Flat-heads. In the vicinity there is a fine cave which I have named the Grotto of Manresa, in honor of our holy Founder. It is quite large, and can at a trifling expense be altered into a church. May the Indians flock to this new Manresa and after the model of their patron, St. Ignatius, be filled with heavenly thoughts and inflamed with the Divine love.

I shall always remember with delight the happy winter of 1844-5 that I had the good fortune to spend among these good Indians. The winter quarters were well selected, sightly, pleasing and convenient. Our camp was pitched beside a precipice where the river Clark was gathered in by a huge rock, and the waters had cut two narrow outlets, and streamed out in waterfalls. A dense and extensive wood covered us against the north wind, and an abundance of trees, dead but still standing, supplied



FATHER DE SMET AMONG THE SIOUX INDIANS.



the winter fuel. Lofty snow-covered mountains surrounded us, and their glistening peaks cast back the sunlight on the country around.

The first care of the Indians after choosing this location was to provide a house of prayer. While the men set to work cutting down branches, the women gathered in bark and matting to cover them. In two days the work was done—a modest and poor Temple of the Lord, but a real *Domus Orationis*—where beings pure and plain, and guileless, came every day to kneel and offer to the Great Spirit the tribute of their prayers and their hearts. The whole thought of the Missionaries was to keep up the instruction for Baptism. How great was our satisfaction at beholding ourselves surrounded with this picked and devoted band that had given up the buffalo-hunt, so dear to them, in order to come from all parts of the wilderness under our guidance in the well-settled hope of a new life through the saving waters of Baptism. They were already able to say their prayers and knew the Commandments. They now applied themselves with zeal to the study of the Sacrament of Regeneration, its nature, and the dispositions and obligations, attending it.

The great Christmas Day on which all this band was going to be added to the true children of God will never be forgotten by our good Indians. The manner in which we celebrated Midnight Mass will give you some idea of our festivities.

The awakening signal agreed on was the firing of a pistol a few minutes before midnight, announcing to the Indians that the House of Prayer was about to open. This was followed by a rattling discharge of fire-arms in honor of the new-born Child-God—and three hundred voices instantly raised in unison in the midst of the forest chanting, in the language of the *Pend d'oreilles*, the beautiful hymn:

*“Du Dieu puissant tout annonce la Gloire!”*

Immediately groups of worshippers move on towards the lowly dwelling of the Saviour actually similar to the Temple of Bethlehem where the Divine Messiah was born.

On beholding the night thus suddenly transformed into day, they were moved to cry out aloud, "O God, I give you my heart." O, I trust that the excellent impression which this unusual scene made upon them will never be removed—for they had never before witnessed anything of the kind.

Of what was it built, this little church of the wilderness? I have already stated: posts of the fir-tree covered with mats and bark—nothing else!

On the previous evening the poverty of the church had been relieved by leafy festoons and wreaths that answered at the same time as frames for our Christmas pictures. The interior had been covered with larch branches. The altar was nicely decorated, covered with paper stars of every hue, and gaily decked with bright ribbons so charming to the sight of the Indian.

At midnight I celebrated Holy Mass, during which the Indians sang many hymns suitable for the occasion. The peace declared in the beautiful sentence of the Gloria, "*In terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*," peace on earth to men of good-will, was, I feel sure, literally granted to the Indians of our forests.

A great feast—Indian style—followed this first Mass. Several joints, specially set aside after the hunt, were produced; and to these I added half a bag of flour and a large pot of well sweetened coffee. The harmony, joy, satisfaction and kindness that filled all present may be compared to the agapes or love-feasts of the first Christians.

After the second solemn Mass all the adults, headed by their chief, presented themselves at the church to receive the Baptism they so ardently desired. The old people I had baptized two years before, and who had preserved their baptismal innocence in a marked degree, were brought in as sponsors. The men were placed on one side and the women on the other; as is so sensibly done in Paraguay. I was assisted throughout the ceremonies by Rev. Father Hocken, their worthy and zealous Missionary. All passed off in the most orderly and becoming manner.



Just here allow me to say and repeat: Would that I could convey to the minds of the fervent and zealous the grand sensations—the feelings that one experiences in such circumstances as these—they are the great consolation of the Indian Missionary. It is here he gets his strength, his courage, his devotion, to win over souls to a knowledge of the true God, in the midst of poverty, privation and peril. Yes, even here below the Divine promise is fulfilled in favor of the Missionary, "*Centuplum accipietis*"—You will be repaid a hundredfold. The trifles one abandons in the outside world can not compare with that which is met and experienced in the wilderness.

It is not in vain that the priest says to the Indian in the beautiful words of the Roman Ritual: "Receive this white robe," "Receive this burning torch," etc. He may rest assured that a vast majority of his catechumens will keep the garment spotless—retaining their baptismal innocence until death. Whenever, long after their baptism, I should ask if they have not offended God, if they have nothing on their conscience, many and many a time I have heard the reply, simple, natural and so encouraging: "Why, Father, at my baptism I gave up sin. Now I shun it—I dread offending God."

The Baptism exercises closed with a second instruction and a distribution of beads, which the Indians are in the habit of reciting together every evening.

Solemn Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was, for the first time, given at three o'clock, and immediately afterwards about fifty couples, fathers and mothers, of all ages, some fully eighty years old, came and renewed their marriage vows in "*Facie Ecclesiæ*." Tears of happiness sprung to my eyes when I beheld this primitive simplicity. With what love and affection they pledged a mutual devotion and a singleness of heart in everything. Then followed the last sermon, with thanksgiving to God for all the blessings received on this great and memorable day. Away into the night you could hear the recitation of prayers, and the singing of hymns in all the tents around.

Rev. Fathers Mengarini and Zerbinati (who has since died) had the gratification of seeing all the tribe of the Flatheads

approach the Holy Table on that same Christmas Day. Twelve little Indian musicians, trained by Father Mengarini, executed with wonderful precision several pieces of music at the solemn midnight Mass.

Among the Cœur d'Alenes, Rev. Fathers Point and Joset admitted for the first time to the Holy Table almost the whole band under their care. Rev. Father Point has furnished all the details of the First Communion in an article published in the newspapers, and which you were doubtless pleased to read.

Thus the great Christmas Day of 1844 was a solemn and glorious one in the Rocky Mountains.

I will close this letter—already very long—with a word further on the Pend d'oreille Indians of the Bay. In the middle of spring 1845 building operations were begun and lands cleared in the place selected within the lines of St. Ignatius' Settlement. In July last, on the occasion of my last visit, fourteen frame houses were already up, all the lumber prepared for a spacious church and a large barn, and almost three hundred acres of land had been planted and well fenced in. All the Indians, men, women and children had labored hard. About thirty head of cattle were gathered upon the place, and the Indian women had learned to milk the cows, and to make butter. There were also a few hogs and some chickens.

The number of Christians has been doubled since Christmas 1844. A small flour-mill and a saw-mill would be of immense advantage to St. Ignatius' village—also, a few ploughs and a supply of farmer's and carpenter's tools. There is much yet to be done among these poor Indians and the further we progress among the tribes the greater will our needs become.

Commending myself and all my brave savages to your good prayers and those of your dear children, I have the honor to be, Madame, with great respect and esteem,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P.S. I am thinking of going East before long, and as I shall very probably go to New York, it will be my pleasing duty to call upon you and to personally thank you again.

I should have been glad to have the time to re-write this letter; for I am ashamed to send it to you in its present condition.

I was glad to learn the good news you had received from your excellent father. I called twice to see him in the town where he lives; but he was away on each occasion. He too was kind enough to call to our house in Brussels to talk with me, but unfortunately I was not at home at the time. I did not remain over three weeks in Belgium and was most busy all the time. Some time in March I hope to talk with you in Brooklyn about Belgium.

Once more, Madame, excuse me for this wretched sheet that I am sending you.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. LOUIS, Jan. 9, 1866.

MADAME:

Mea culpa, Mea culpa, Mea maxima culpa. Abandoning the common excuses (valid, perhaps) of being busy, away from home, not being well, etc., I acknowledge that I ought to have written to you long ago. I have not done so. I confess my fault, and I very humbly beg your pardon. I avail myself of the New Year's to make reparation. It affords me the great pleasure of expressing to you and to all your dear family in Brooklyn, the sentiments of my sincere gratitude. Kindly accept my best wishes for your spiritual and temporal welfare. I venture to hope that the Almighty, yielding to my humble prayer, may shower upon you all his choicest blessings, filling your souls with divine consolation. This is my special daily supplication at the altar of the Saviour.

Allow me, on this occasion, to offer you my little New Year's gifts. They have just come from the Indian wilds, and I know this kind of objects will give you pleasure.

You no doubt remember that in the spring of 1864 I secured a small colony of four Sisters of Providence from Montreal (Canada). These excellent *religieuses* reached the Rocky Mountains in good health in the autumn of the same

year. According to a letter just received from the Superior of the Missions, the Sisters are laboring with great zeal at St. Ignatius' Mission, among the Flatheads and the Kalispels and their work is crowned with success. They already have a thriving school and also an orphanage, where hundreds of children might be gathered if there were means of clothing and feeding them. Two postulants (widows) have been added to the Sisters. Divine Providence which has brought the Sisters safe and sound across the Atlantic, from the borders of the Pacific, and over the rugged mountains, will not forsake them. They are in need. I will interest myself in them and beg again for their sake. Please assist me with your prayers that the rich may be moved to open their purses for me. I intend them to have the splendid offering which you, in your noble charity, gave to me on my return from Europe, and you are accounted the first among their benefactors.

At the Sacred Heart Mission, among the Cœur d'Alenes the Jubilee was celebrated with much solemnity, the whole tribe approaching the Holy Table on the Feast of the Assumption.

Rev. Father Giorda, Superior of our Idaho and Montana Missions, writes me that neither in Europe nor elsewhere in America has he participated in a more edifying, pious and earnest celebration or one more impressive in primitive Christian simplicity. Tears of happiness and of devotion, adds the good Father, escaped me during the whole ceremony. All the chiefs contributed to the grandeur of the occasion by their devotion and bearing, at once dignified and submissive; and those whose conduct during the year had not been above reproach came forward to accept the discipline (the whip) of the Great Chief before approaching the Holy Table. Joy and happiness reigned everywhere in the Indian village on that glorious Assumption Day—the entire tribe being melted to tears.

From Rev. Father Joset's Mission, on the Columbia River, I receive news that is equally consoling: He has brought into the Faith all the tribes of that section, and is also doing an

immense amount of good among the new settlers flocking to the mines that are daily discovered in that territory.

I would commend the Rocky Mountain Missions to your kind prayers, and, through you, to the prayers of the Sisters of Charity in Brooklyn. The Missions are exposed to great peril by the influx of the thousands of white settlers. They come to take forcible possession of the Indian lands containing valuable mines. These invaders as a rule are a godless, unprincipled lot, the scum of the United States and of Europe, who bring to the Indian rather the vices than the virtues of civilization, and whose plundering propensities are so great that the poor unfortunate Indians soon become their victims. It is from this rabble that the principal dangers are to be apprehended.

I shall include in this letter a few pious details about the life and death of one of our compatriots, Jean de Bruyn, lay brother, of the Society of Jesus. Born at Antwerp in 1814, received into the Society in October 1842, he died Nov. 4, 1865 at the Osage Mission.

I give the details from data I received from the Reverend Missionary Fathers in charge of that post, and under whom the good Brother John passed a great many years of his life—and this information is worthy of all confidence.

Rev. Father Ponziglione writes from St. Jerome's Mission among the Osages:

Brother John de Bruyn died on the 4th of November. It is the firm conviction of all here that he has passed direct to his eternal happiness, the reward of his merits. From his very entrance into the Society he led a model and edifying life, full of Christian and religious virtue. His splendid virtues, which with a holy simplicity he strove earnestly to conceal, won the admiration of his brethren in religion as well as of all others, Indians and whites, who had the advantage of meeting him. All were edified as though having listened to an eloquent sermon. His plain and humble devotion, his charity in all things, his instant compliance with the orders of his Superiors, were always very striking, while his indomitable patience, and reli-

gious submission to authority, were ever and always indicative of the Christian hero. According to the testimony of his Superiors: "He was to all his associates a true model of religious perfection."

Here is what occurred between Brother John and his confessor immediately after receiving the last rites of the Christian—the holy Sacraments, which he received with extreme veneration and devotion. Having finished his thanksgiving, he asked his confessor if the community which had assembled in his room had yet retired. On learning that they had, he remarked: "Reverend Father, I have been a poor unfortunate sinner all my life; yet in this last moment, prepared to breathe my last and appear before the divine tribunal, I cannot conceal from you that Our Blessed Lord has deigned to grant me many blessings despite my unworthiness. During my stay at St. Stanislaus' Novitiate in Missouri, I was walking one day in the garden, in serious agitation over an order I had received from the Superior to do something for which I had a great repugnance. Suddenly I saw before me a crown of thorns. This sight stunned me, although I could not comprehend it. I began to compare the crown to the one worn by our Saviour Jesus Christ during His painful Passion, and while I was full of this thought, the crown disappeared. The apparition of that crown of thorns has ever since been deeply impressed on my memory. I have never lost sight of it, and in all the trials and all the perplexities subsequently met with, I was ever resigned to the holy will of God.

"Another day while praying in the old chapel of the Novitiate the building suddenly seemed to open up, and I beheld the Queen of Heaven above in the sky. This good Mother gave me a most kindly look and instantly disappeared. The vision filled me with courage to overcome vigorously all the spiritual trials that have since beset me, and to persevere in the holy service of our Lord."

He also made to his confessor the following remarkable statement:

"About ten years ago while sweeping your room my gaze



FATHER DE SMET, SURROUNDED BY INDIAN CHIEFS.





was fixed on a picture of the Blessed Virgin, which hung on the wall, and instantly the Mother of God appeared to me. I beheld her as clearly as I see you now, Father. I was completely overcome at the great honor that had been vouchsafed to me, but in my bewilderment I lost my speech and was unable to utter a word. Then the Blessed Mother gave me a comforting and tender look and at once disappeared. The pleasant recollection of this exceptional honor has sustained me ever since in all my doubts and difficulties."

He closed by observing:

"I am overcome by the thought that our Lord has conferred such wonderful marks of favor upon one so unworthy as I am, who have accomplished so little in His holy service."

"I give you the facts," adds the Rev. Father Ponziglione in his report, "just as I received them from the lips of our good Brother John two days before his death. All the members of our order at this house having been constant witnesses of the eminent merit and deep humility of the good Brother, believe completely in his death-bed declarations—made for the purpose of acknowledging and honoring the great beneficence of our Lord, and the glory of the Immaculate Virgin Mary."

"The death of our Brother John was peaceful in spite of his sufferings. His last actions were to kiss the crucifix and the picture of the Blessed Virgin. He pressed them afterwards to his heart, asked to be lifted up for a moment, and expired in our arms. We venture to hope, indeed we feel perfectly persuaded that good Brother John passed directly from our arms into those of his divine Creator, to be received into the celestial abode which is to be the everlasting reward of his labor and his merits.

"The evening before his death, with a smile on his lips he remarked to his Superior: 'Life among the Osages is very hard and thorny: yet I have always loved it. I am dying at the height of my happiness, I die a Jesuit!'"

I conclude my extended New Year's gift. You will need quite a little patience and courage to read it. To help you out, I divide it into four parts: You will yourself read the first

page; Madam Bayer, the second; Miss Parmentier, the third; and Mr. Bayer, the fourth page.

I beg to remain, dear lady, with sentiments of sincere respect, affection and gratitude,

Your humble and devoted servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. LOUIS, Feb. 5, 1866.

MISS ROSINE PARMENTIER.

Madame:

I have received your kind letter of the 28th ult., containing the two checks of \$100 each. In behalf of our Rev. Missionary Fathers, I hasten to express to you my heartiest thanks. I had received on the previous day another check for a hundred dollars, with a letter bearing neither name nor date. Thanks to Divine Providence I am enabled to satisfy the various needs of the Reverend Fathers. They have already furnished me with their lists.

The good Sisters of Providence shall certainly not be left out in the distribution to be made. Indeed the Fathers and the Mothers on the mountains and among the savages are as one family.

I regret to learn that your mother's health is not good. I shall have frequent prayers said for her and I will often offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for her recovery. On Feb. 12th I will begin a Novena of Masses in honor of St. Anthony to assist Mr. Bayer in his investigations upon your lands at Tioga. I shall also ask our novices and Fathers at St. Louis—our entire household—to unite in our prayers on the appointed day.

Please say to Mr. August Rölker that we are very grateful for his generous offering to the schools of the Sisters of Providence. His intention will be strictly carried out.

My best regards, if you please, to your esteemed mother and the worthy Mr. and Mrs. Bayer.

I would also recommend myself to your kind prayers. For some time past I have been suffering from both fever and

rheumatism; yet I hope that the Almighty will permit me to visit the Indians again.

I am, Miss,

Your humble servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. LOUIS, Nov. 1, 1867.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,

Bridge Street, Brooklyn.

Very worthy and esteemed Madame:

I trust this beautiful Feast of All Saints may bring you happiness and every blessing, as well as to your very dear children, Mrs. and Mr. Bayer and Miss Rosine. With this intention I shall to-day sing Mass at our German church of St. Joseph, invoking the great Patron of the faithful and the whole heavenly host to favor you with their blessings on this solemn occasion.

Since returning from my last trip and mission among the Indian tribes of Upper Missouri, I have often thought of giving you some news of myself. My tardiness calls for a word of explanation by way of excuse, which I am sure you will, in your charity and kindness, accept.

Returning to St. Louis, I found a number of matters requiring all my attention; and my sudden change from the cold windy plains of Upper Missouri, from a latitude of 48° North to 39° South, especially in the depth of summer while the thermometer stood between 90° and 100° Fahrenheit, gave me a burning and debilitating fever, which was not easily allayed.

The present cool spell is restoring my weight: the scales bear witness.

I was delighted to learn recently through a letter from Mr. J. Gilmary Shea, that your esteemed family was well. I shall not cease to pray Heaven, especially at the altar, to grant you its holy blessing and to spare you for many years to come.

For the present you will kindly be content with a plain

brief sketch of my mission among the Indians. Later on I shall endeavor to let you know the outcome.

I was away from the beginning of April until the middle of August. At the special request of the U. S. Secretary of the Interior, who contributed generously towards my expenses, I spent almost four months among the Indian tribes of Missouri. There was a desire on the part of the Government to induce the neutral tribes, by friendly advice, to preserve peaceful relations with the whites, and keep away from the warlike red men. Those I visited numbered over fifteen thousand. I was everywhere well received. Having much respect and affection for me personally, they paid marked attention to my religious instruction and to the good counsel I brought them on behalf of the Government. The Indian mothers eagerly brought me their children, beseeching me to dedicate them to the Great Spirit in the waters of Baptism. I had the satisfaction of baptizing 894 children and 46 adults. The mortality in that section, especially among young children, is exceedingly great—so that a large number with unspotted innocence partake already of the eternal joys of heaven. They constitute a band of pleaders before the throne of the Almighty, and I frequently call upon them in favor of their friends and benefactors.

With the help of God I propose to see these Indian tribe again next spring and to force my way, if possible, into the ranks of the hostile bands. I have already received urgent and earnest invitations from many of these; but my broken health and the inclement season compel me to defer the visit until the middle of next spring.

You, Madame, and Mr. and Mrs. Bayer, and Miss Rosin will please accept my respectful regards. I ask your prayers and those of the kind Sisters of Charity in Brooklyn. Remember me kindly to Mr. Rölker and family.

I have the honor to be, Madame,

Your humble servant and friend,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

## SOME PIONEER CATHOLIC LAYMEN IN NEW YORK.—DOMINICK LYNCH AND CORNELIUS HEENEY.

By THOMAS F. MEEHAN, A.M.

DURING the early years of the last century the two Catholic laymen of most commercial and social importance in New York were Dominick Lynch and Cornelius Heeney. Although then so prominent in the affairs of the Catholic colony their names are hardly even a memory to the present generation. Dominick Lynch had thirteen children. They made mixed marriages, and, with very few exceptions, their numerous descendants now have neither Catholic faith nor affiliations. Cornelius Heeney died a bachelor. He left his fortune for charity, but in his benefaction effaced his own personality. The names of most of our local philanthropists are perpetuated in the institutions they founded. He was content to secure the administration and distribution of his bounty in the corporation known as the Brooklyn Benevolent Society and few of the many thousands who have been made happier through his generosity ever heard of the man whose dole they received. He was satisfied with providing that it should go to the widow and the orphan without any advertising of his own name.

Dominick Lynch was born in Galway, Ireland, in 1754. The Lynchs were one of the famous old families of that city to which it had given Mayors and Wardens for many generations. He was the son of James Lynch and his wife, Anastasia Joyce. James Lynch was a rich merchant who sent his son Dominick to Bruges in Flanders to carry on a branch of his business, which was extensive on the continent of Europe.

Galway is called the "Citie of the Tribes," because it was founded, in 1162, by members of thirteen Norman families,

who had been in the train of William the Conqueror, one of them the descendants of a General Dr. Lintz, which name in progress of time became gradually Lintz and Linche or Lynch. These Lynchs, for generations, ruled the city, as its Mayor, Wardens and Sheriffs.

Before the young man left home he married (Aug. 3, 1780) his cousin Joana, daughter of Anthony Lynch and Margaret Power, born in Dublin, August 31, 1761. The wars that England was waging at the time helped him to increase his fortune very materially and extended the operations of the house in Bruges. While living there he met Thomas Stoughton, a merchant with French and Spanish connections, with whom he entered into a partnership to establish a business in New York, the agreement being dated at Bruges, March 1, 1783. Lynch contributed £5,000 and Stoughton £2,500; the capital of the concern, which Stoughton opened in New York at No. 26 Greenwich Street, as merchants and importers in the spring of 1783 under the firm name of Lynch & Stoughton. In the following year the King of Spain named his father, Don Juan Stoughton, consul for the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont, with residence at Boston. The son Thomas was made consul at New York, an office he held until his death in 1826.

Dominick Lynch remained in Bruges until 1785, when after a short trip to London and his native Galway, he sailed for New York, reaching here, with his wife, three children and several servants, on June 20, 1785. It is said that, in addition to the capital invested in his firm, he had with him a larger amount in cash than had been brought to America by any private individual for many years. He took up his residence at No. 36 Broadway. The next house was that of Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, which adjoined the one in which President Washington lived in 1790. They were a row built by a man named McComb, near Morris Street. "Went to see a file of new buildings," says Col. John May,

\* R. H. Clarke, in *Irish Catholic Ben. Union Journal*, April 1, 1888.

his journal, under date of April 22, 1788, "nearly completed, belonging to a Mr. McComb, by far the finest buildings my eyes ever beheld, and I believe they excel any on the continent." Here the Lynchs lived in the affluence and elegance their wealth allowed. Their names appear among the select three hundred guests invited to Washington's inauguration ball, at the City Assembly rooms, on Broadway, on the evening of May 7, 1789.\*

The firm of Lynch & Stoughton lasted until July 3, 1785, when the partners quarrelled and lawsuits followed. These dragged along in the courts for twenty years and were finally decided in Stoughton's favor. Lynch had to pay him a sum of \$25,076 in addition to costs. Stoughton, after he came to New York, married Catherine Lynch, Dominick Lynch's sister. Their son James, who was a lawyer, with an office at No. 19 Wall Street, and acted as Spanish vice consul, was murdered, on Dec. 21, 1819, in his twenty-third year, at the corner of Broadway and Cortlandt Street by a young Baltimorean named Robert M. Gooding. In his capacity as consul James Stoughton had caused the arrest of Gooding for piracy upon Spanish vessels. Gooding had charge of a privateer, which was only a name for a legal pirate, sent out by his uncle, John Gooding of Baltimore, to prey on the commerce of Spain under the flag of one of the revolting South American countries. The two young men had an altercation over the arrest, during which Stoughton was stabbed with a swordcane and killed. The murder caused great excitement owing to the social standing and personal popularity of the victim. Gooding was tried twice for the crime. The jury in the first trial could not agree; and at the second, in April 1821, they gave a verdict of not guilty. The death of his son was a great blow to Thomas Stoughton. He grieved constantly over it until his death at his residence, No. 75 Leonard Street, on March 20, 1826. The *Truth Teller*, of March 25 of that year, had this obituary notice of him:

**DIED**—On Monday evening last, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, Don Thomas Stoughton, His Catholic Majesty's Consul

\* Memorial Volume, Centenary Washington's Inauguration, p. 36.

for the State of New York, which official station he held thirty years. The deceased was one of our most ancient respectable inhabitants: few men have been more universally esteemed; and the numerous friends he has left to lament loss bear ample testimony of the singular obligingness of character and to the generous and noble qualities of his. He received the rites of the Church with sentiments of piety and manifested during his illness the most exemplary resignation to the Divine Will. R. I. P."

His son Francisco succeeded him in the office of Collector and held it for a number of years.

The advent of Dominick Lynch with his wealth and position was an event of importance to the little Catholic colony of that era. Both he and his partner Stoughton took an active interest in promoting the formation of the reorganized congregation that was then busy with projects for the securing of a church to worship in. They advanced money with which the lot in Barclay Street, on which St. Peter's was built, was purchased from the Trinity Church corporation, and they were among the first trustees of the church. In the subsequent efforts to put the new venture on a firm foundation they were also active. Dominick Lynch not only subscribed liberally himself, but, on September 20, 1790, sent an appeal for help to the Rev. Augustine Kirwin, Vicar of Galway, Ireland, and to others of his relatives and friends in that city.\*

In 1790, when the address of congratulation from Catholics of the United States was presented to George Washington, on his election to the Presidency, Dominick Lynch was one of the four laymen who signed it, the others being Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll (the bishop's brother) and Thomas Fitzsimmons, of Philadelphia. He was one of those designated by Bishop Carroll, in 1787, to receive subscriptions for the "establishing of an Academy at Georgetown, Patowmack River, Maryland." Daniel Carroll is recorded in the baptism registry at St. Peter's, Barclay Street, as standing sponsor with Catherine McCoombe for Dominick.

\* *Irish Catholic Ben. Union Journal*, April 1, 1888.





Lord Byron



Lynch's daughter Margaret, on July 30, 1789. Congress was then meeting in New York and both Carroll and Fitzsimmons were members of it.

After the dissolution of the firm of Lynch & Stoughton, Dominick Lynch lived as a retired merchant, his fortune, which had measurably increased by his investments after his arrival in New York enabling him to enjoy an elegant leisure. For some reason not now known he made an extensive purchase of land in central New York, on the Mohawk river, in the country of the old Iroquois Confederacy which included the historic Fort Stanwix, the turning-point of the Revolutionary conflict. In June, 1785, a survey was made by the State of the Oriskany Patent into allotments, and a lot of six hundred and ninety-seven acres was set aside to pay the expenses of this survey.

On March 17, 1786, this "expense lot" was put up at auction and Dominick Lynch bought it for £2,250. In the following two years he bought nine hundred and twenty acres more, and before 1800 increased his holdings to about two thousand acres. In 1796 he mapped out for a village plot the territory owned by him which included what is now the business portion of the city of Rome. The early leases call the place "Lynchville, town of Rome." The name Rome was not given to the settlement until some years later and under what circumstances is not known. Mr. Lynch leveled off the southeast corner of Fort Stanwix in the construction of his residence, a large square frame building, which he and his sons occupied from time to time and which was burned in 1824. He had peculiar notions, owing probably to his Irish origin, about the disposal of his property. "Mr. Lynch," says the *History of Oneida County*,\* "adopted the very objectionable plan of giving perpetual leases for his lots instead of deeds of sale and in case the annual rents were not paid the land was to revert to the owner. . . . A peppercorn payable on the first day of May in each year, if lawfully demanded for the term of 10,000 years and after that 20 cents annually for each lot." (pp. 519-

\* *History of Oneida County*, p. 375.

520.) This subsequently made much trouble and confusion for the property owners.

Plots were donated by him for public parks and for the sites of needed public buildings. The State was given a section in June, 1809, for an arsenal which three years after reverted to the donor. This piece of land is now the site of St. Peter Church. Mr. Lynch erected woolen and cotton mills, a saw mill and contributed other improvements to the progress of the village. Dominick Street was called after him; James Street after his eldest son, and his residence stood near the junction of the two. It is said that when he bought this land in central New York a plot of twenty acres near the New York City Hall was offered him for the same amount of money. He rejected the city farm and invested on the Mohawk!

In 1797, however, he purchased a country seat in Westchester County bordering on Long Island Sound, and there built a spacious stone mansion. In this he spent most of his remaining years of his life in quiet ease, taking little active participation in local affairs. This house and grounds are now the property of the Christian Brothers who conduct there an Academy of the Sacred Heart for Boys. It is now called Classon-on-the-Sound. Dominick Lynch died in this house the following brief obituary in the *Truth Teller* of Saturday June 11, 1825, relates: "On Sunday evening, at Woodlawn Westchester County, Dominick Lynch, Esq., in the seventy-first year of his age. R. I. P." Not a very extensive notice surely, for a man of his earlier local prominence. His wife survived him until July 2, 1849, and died there also. They are both buried, with other members of the family, in the family vault in old St. Patrick's Church, Mott Street, New York.

Twelve children were born to them, James, Anastasia, Dominick, Alexander, Margaret, Jasper, Jane, Henry, Elizabeth, Louisa, Edward and William. These intermarried with non-Catholics, and their descendants are now outside the Church. They thus made connections with the Tillots, Shippens, Luqueers, Pringles, Lawrences, Leas, North

Maitlands, Harveys, Canbys, Ridgways, Olins, Orrs, and other well known New York families. James Lynch, the eldest son, was a lawyer and went to the Legislature from Oneida County. He was afterward a judge of the Court of Sessions and of the Marine Court in New York City.

Dominick, the fourth and favorite child of his father, was sent to Georgetown College to be educated, and while there recited the Elegy at the public exercises held February 22, 1799, to mourn the death of Washington. On his return to New York, after finishing school, he became a merchant, building up an extensive business. He lived at No. 1 Greenwich Street. Dr. J. M. Francis, in his oft-quoted *Old New York* says of him (pp. 254-255), speaking of the introduction here of Italian opera:

"For this advantageous accession to the resources of mental gratification we are indebted to the taste and refinement of Dominick Lynch. . . . Lynch, a native of New York, was the acknowledged head of the fashionable and festive board, a gentleman of the *ton* and a melodist of great powers and exquisite taste. He had long striven to enhance the character of our music; he was the master of English song but he felt, from his close cultivation of music and his knowledge of the genius of his countrymen, that much was wanting and that more could be accomplished, and he sought out while in Europe an Italian troupe which his persuasive eloquence and the liberal spirit of Price led to embark for our shores, where they arrived in November, 1825."

Here is another picture of this Dominick Lynch, 2d, which is to be found in *The Old Merchants of New York* (vol. 1, p. 171):

"Dominick Lynch coined money: he spent it with the freedom of a prince. . . . He had a lovely family of daughters, and bought a place on Staten Island next door to the Pavilion Hotel, at New Brighton, where he lived until he died in 1844. He never saved anything and consequently died poor. Of his daughters two married naval commanders, one the celebrated Commodore Wilkes; another married William Watson, a lawyer. One married Julius Pringle of South Carolina, one married Mr. Luqueer of Brooklyn. One son was a distinguished naval officer. . . . Another of the daughters married Stewart

Maitland of the firm of Maitland, Phelps & Co. . . . Still another interesting fact about Dominick Lynch is that he was very strong Catholic . . . but all of his children have become Protestants."

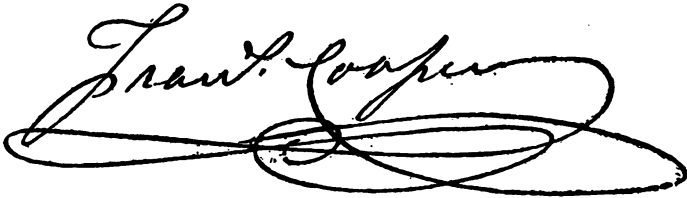
The "distinguished naval officer" was Captain Dominic Lynch, 3d, who served with distinction under Perry in the Mexican war, and also in the Civil war. He retired after long service and died in Brooklyn October 10, 1884, a Catholic. Four daughters, Catholics, survived him, with one son Dominic Lynch, 4th, who died a lieutenant in the Fourth U. S. Cavalry. The wife of the last named was a Miss Webster of Philadelphia and in 1886 their two daughters received their first communion from the hand of Pope Leo XIII. in his chapel in the Vatican. All four Dominicks died in the faith of their ancestors, and their remains repose in the family vault under old St. Patrick Church, New York.

\* \* \* \* \*

Cornelius Heeney came to New York under very different circumstances from those attending the advent of Dominick Lynch. He was born in Kings County, Ireland, in 1754. In his youth he lost his mother, and his father, marrying again, emigrated to this country. The young Cornelius went to live with a relative who was in business in Dublin and there acquired a practical mercantile education, in acquiring which he showed considerable talent. He was thirty years old when he determined to follow his father to America and he set sail from Dublin to Philadelphia. The ship on which he came over was wrecked in the Delaware, at the end of the voyage and he landed penniless. A Philadelphia Quaker named McGraw gave him his first employment, and he remained there three months. Then turning his steps to New York he was employed as bookkeeper by another Quaker, an English furniture dealer named William Backhaus who had his store at No. 40 Little Dock, now Water Street. In this store also, as porter and salesman, was another subsequently famous man, John Jacob Astor, founder of the family of present day millionaires. William Backhaus retired soon after this, went back to E

land, and left his business to his two employees who prospered in it for several years. Then they separated, Astor retaining the Backhous store while Heeney opened another in the same line, furs, skins, etc., at No. 82 Water Street. He lived over the store, as was customary then, with two bachelor friends, Francis Cooper and John George Gottsberger, both of whom, like him, took special interest in the affairs of St. Peter's Church and other Catholic enterprises. They all served for a number of years on the Board of Trustees of St. Peter's. Mr. Cooper belonged to an old Catholic family of Philadelphia, and was on terms of intimate friendship with Bishop Dubois as his letters to his parents in Philadelphia indicate.\* Mr. Gottsberger's son, Francis Gottsberger, is a well-known resident of Brooklyn and remembers Mr. Heeney having called on him often when a boy with his father.

"My father told me," says Mr. Gottsberger, "that he first became acquainted with Mr. Heeney in 1801, shortly after coming here from Austria. He used to go to Mass to old St. Peter's in Barclay Street. One Sunday a little man came up to him and said: 'Young man, I see you coming here regularly and I would like to have you sit in my pew.' This was the beginning of the acquaintance which resulted in their living in bachelor style in 82 Water Street, Mr. Francis Cooper making

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Francis Cooper". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. It features a large, sweeping initial 'F' and a long, horizontal flourish at the end.

the third one. My father told me an amusing story of their bachelor life. Francis Cooper became engaged to be married and the bachelors' hall had to be broken up. The furniture had been bought in common and it was arranged that there should be a sale at auction, but no one was to be present and bid for anything but the three, Mr. Heeney, my father, and Mr. Cooper. In the meantime the future Mrs. Cooper had visited the rooms and selected such pieces of furniture as she fancied, so that when the sale took place Mr. Heeney and my

\* Records, American Catholic Historical Society, June 1900.

father took great pleasure in bidding up such things as they understood their friend Cooper had received instruction from his future wife to buy."

As Mr. Heeney had no one depending on him he devoted his fast increasing wealth to works of piety and charity. It is estimated that he gave in cash and real estate to various New York institutions and churches more than \$60,000, which was an immense sum in those days. He was specially generous to old St. Peter's in Barclay Street. The pews and gallery fittings removed in the recent reconstruction of this church were his gifts. In 1812 he visited Emmittsburg, Md., and subsequently persuaded his old friend Mother Seton to send a band of her Sisters of Charity to take care of the Prince Street orphan asylum, for the establishment of which he gave \$18,000. In 1816 and later he added to it by the donation of adjoining property. He built the free school for girls and the half orphan asylum for St. Patrick's parish, and gave one of the lots that went to enlarge the graveyard. With Andrew Morris he took title to the site on Fifth Avenue now occupied by St. Patrick's Cathedral, which property was conveyed to the trustees of St. Peter's, St. Mary's, and St. Patrick's parishes through Francis Cooper. Andrew Morris was a soap-maker who had his shop at No. 22 Water Street, and lived on the Bowery near Jones Street. His name is to be found frequently in the transactions of St. Peter's parish during the early years of its existence. He served in the Legislature as a member of the assembly in 1816. Francis Cooper was an assemblyman in 1807, '08, '09, '15 and '26 and Cornelius Heeney also served five terms from 1818 to 1822. Mr. Cooper was an assistant alderman from the Eighth Ward in 1821, and Andrew Morris from the First Ward, 1802-'06.

Strange as it may seem now, the cathedral site on Fifth Avenue was purchased for a cemetery on November 5, 1828, at a cost of \$5,500. The property was then known as "Mr. Dennis Doyle's place on the Middle Road." On the other side of the road were the Botanic Gardens, a famous local landmark of that era. Knowing, as we do now, the character of the



ground, how anybody could have picked it out for a cemetery is a mystery. The purchase occasioned much criticism, not on account of the nature of the land—almost solid rock—but because it was so far out of town and so hard to get there. The new place of sepulture was designed to relieve St. Patrick's churchyard, which was then getting overcrowded. One of the protests against this purchase, printed in the *Truth Teller* of March 28, 1829, says:

"It appears, by a handbill circulated a few days ago, that the trustees of St. Patrick's Church, without consulting the Catholics of this city have bought a tract of land opposite the Botanic Garden, a distance of between four and five miles from the City Hall; that the nature of the soil is entirely unfit for the said purpose; and that this place has been actually appropriated by them for a general Catholic Burial Ground.

"Query? Have the trustees of that church, or any of the other Catholic churches in this city the right to act definitely upon this *general* subject without previously obtaining the consent of the heads of families belonging to the Catholic community? This question ought to be fairly discussed before any final decision is made on the location of the contemplated cemetery."

After considerable controversy the project of locating the new cemetery on "the Middle road" was abandoned, and the block in east Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, Avenue A and First Avenue, was purchased, on August 29, 1832, and the new graveyard was begun there. Its use was continued until August, 1848, when the interments in Calvary cemetery began.

Mr. Heeney was so prosperous, that when the great fire of 1835 destroyed his store in Water Street, with the rest of the buildings in the lower part of the city, he did not regard the loss as at all serious. Soon afterward he retired from active business and went to live in Brooklyn in a house with grounds covering seventeen acres of land included between the present Congress and Amity Streets, Court Street and the East River. For this tract he had paid \$7,500 in 1806. Mr. Francis Gottsberger, son of his old associate, speaking recently of this property, said:

"I remember his old house in Brooklyn well. It stood about

where Amity Street now is, between Hicks and Henry. The approach was by a lane where Hicks Street is, that street not being cut through at the time, this led to another lane or road that ran to Henry Street. The house was a large, double frame-house, facing south. There were doors at the north and south ends, opening into halls which ran through the house. At the west end, that nearest Hicks Street, on the other side of the hall, was Mr. Heeney's sitting-room, where he received his visitors. He sat in a large armchair and it was customary for all visitors to salute him on entering the room, the ladies making a curtsy and the men and boys a bow. I remember the drilling I had to go through so that I could make a proper and polite bow. He was very particular in this regard and if any of the boys failed to make a formal salutation on their arrival at the house he would take them to task about it when they appeared before him at their departure.

"To the house was attached a fine, large garden on the east side, which extended to the grounds of the property now used by the Long Island College Hospital. This garden was laid out in flowers, and I believe some vegetables were grown there. The plants were surrounded by a fine box hedge about four feet high. On the outside, along the lane to Henry Street, were planted rows of Irish hawthorn bushes. Mr. Heeney had these bushes brought over from Ireland and I well remember the beautiful white blossoms that bloomed on them in the spring and the handsome red berries that appeared later on.

"The ground on which the house stood was somewhat higher than the present grade of Amity Street. Congress Street was cut through before Mr. Heeney died, but the city authorities did not wish to disturb him further, so that Amity Street was not cut through until after his death. The old house was sold and the purchaser moved it to Columbia Street and I believe it is still there, near Irving or Sedgwick Street. At that time there were no houses on Mr. Heeney's ground to the river, with the exception of a building on the southeast corner of Amity and Columbia Streets. This was originally called Freeman's Hall and was built on ground donated by Mr. Heeney to a society which did not flourish but went out of existence."

The late Rev. D. A. Merrick, S.J., has also left this reminiscence of the man and the neighborhood: "The only gentleman I ever knew who wore a pigtail was Mr. Cornelius Heeney. . . . My father and brother died in a house built on ground leased from the Heeney estate. . . . From the frame-house sur-



DOMINICK LYNCH, JR.



rounded by a garden in which we lived you went by a passage called Heeney's Lane to get to Court Street. . . . Between us and Mr. Heeney's was a very large field with a big cut in the middle of it, the excavation made for the foundations of a building. Scattered round were large brown stones intended for this future building. . . . Mr. Heeney had offered this ground for a college."\*

Others describe Mr. Heeney as in appearance resembling the accepted pictures of Benjamin Franklin. His face was clean-shaven with the forehead receding, an aquiline nose, and the top of his head bald. He wore his hair long and tied in the back with a ribbon. His face gave evidence of the determined, positive character shown in many of his transactions with the Church authorities. He was generous to them but he wanted his own way and usually insisted on having it. An instance of this was his offer of the land in Brooklyn for a seminary (the building referred to above by Father Merrick), after the first structure at Nyack was burned in 1833, which offer fell through because he would not give the Bishop a clear title. He had the prevailing notions of the time in regard to the rights of lay trustees in Church affairs. The land in Brooklyn which was not accepted on his terms for a seminary he subsequently gave for the site of St. Paul's Church and the orphan asylum and school that adjoins it. He is buried in the rear of this church in a vault he arranged for himself. Alongside it is another which he laid out, at the same time, for the widow of Andrew Parmentier. For this he gave Mme. Parmentier, who was a great friend of his, a regular deed in fee simple, which is duly recorded in the real estate transfers of Kings County. It is not made by the church, but by Cornelius Heeney individually. The Parmentier family, therefore, is the legal owner of this bit of ground although it is right in the center of the church property.

In the house with Mr. Heeney lived a servitor named Patrick Halegan who had great influence with him, and Heeney's nieces, the Misses Margaret and Alicia Dunne. Both

\* Fordham Monthly, January 1906, p. 135.

the latter joined the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. Madame Margaret Dunne was well-known in the houses of the Order in Omaha and Philadelphia, as well as in New York, where she filled, with special success, several important offices. They were pupils themselves in the old Houston Street convent in 1842. Mr. Heeney at one time interested himself in a project to have the Ladies of the Sacred Heart start a school in Brooklyn, but without result. Besides giving the land for St. Paul's Church, he was also an earlier contributor to the progress of the faith in Brooklyn. He was the owner of the Blooming Grove Garden, the Fulton Street hotel, in the "long room" of which Mass was said for some time before St. James', the first church of the village, was built. He was, besides, the legal guardian and patron of the young Brooklynite John McCloskey, who afterward became the first American cardinal, and was instrumental in having him sent to Mount St. Mary's, Emmittsburg, to make his studies under Dr. Dubois.

Having given for so long the bulk of his income to charity and good works, Mr. Heeney planned to have the whole of his estate used for the same purpose, and wisely determined to arrange the details himself before he died and not leave the execution of his project to the hazard of post-mortem legal complications. Accordingly he had passed by the Legislature, May 10, 1845, an act incorporating "The Trustees and Associates of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society," the purpose of which is defined in Sections 2 and 3 of their charter as follows:

2. "The said Corporation may take and hold by deed of gift from Cornelius Heeney, the present owner thereof, the parcels of land in the city of Brooklyn, lying between Hicks, Columbia, Congress and Amity Streets and may take and hold any further real and personal estate that said Cornelius Heeney may convey to it gratuitously, or may bequeath or devise it by his last will and testament.

3. "The one-fifth of the rents, issues, and income of the said estate and of said Corporation shall be annually expended in supplying poor persons residing in Brooklyn aforesaid, gratuitously, with fuel during the winter; one-tenth thereof shall also be annually expended in gratuitously supplying poor chil-

dren attending school in Brooklyn aforesaid with shoes and stockings, or other articles of clothing absolutely necessary for their health and protection during that season of the year. The sum of two hundred and fifty dollars a year out of said income shall be expended quarterly in the payment of a teacher of said poor children, in spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic; and the whole clear surplus shall be applied solely to the support, maintenance, and education of poor orphan children between the age of four and fourteen years."

The income of this property amounts to about \$25,000 a year. It costs only about five per cent to administer it, the rest going in charity as the charter directs. More than a million dollars has thus been distributed since Mr. Heeney died. The property is in one of the best sections of Brooklyn and is constantly increasing in value. The income is derived from ground rents. Leases are given for twenty-one years, and at their expiration a revaluation is made.

An idea of the exact benefit the bequest is to the poor of Brooklyn may be had from the following official report the Trustees of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society made for the year ending March 1, 1906:

*Receipts.*

From rentals .....	\$20,343.07
From bank interest on deposits.....	226.86
From interest on bonds and mortgages..	1,787.87
From bank stock dividends.....	1,154.00
From members' fees .....	18.00
Balance from last year .....	2,509.25
Total .....	\$26,039.05

*Expenditures.*

Support of orphans .....	\$14,000.00
Coal for poor families .....	3,757.80
Shoes and stockings for poor.....	2,636.36
Teacher of poor children .....	250.00
Counsel fees .....	500.00
Salaries .....	1,250.00
Printing, stationery, repairs, gas, etc....	261.02
Total .....	\$22,655.18
Balance on hand .....	3,383.87
	<hr/>
	\$26,039.05

The Brooklyn Benevolent Society was formally organized under its charter on August 6, 1845, Bishop John Hughes of New York presiding at the first meeting. The incorporators named in the act were Cornelius Heeney, Francis Cooper, James Friel, Henry M. Patchen, and John George Gottsberger and Noel J. Becar, William H. Peck, Peter Turner, and Bartlett Smith, the first five being named as life trustees to hold office during good behavior. All vacancies occurring by death, resignation or otherwise, in their own number of five were to be supplied by the remainder of their number. The last four were named to hold office until the seventeenth day of March, following on which day and annually thereafter there was to be an election of four trustees to succeed them. In addition there were added, as *ex officio* trustees, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese of New York and the Mayor of the city of Brooklyn. The "associates" of the society were those who contributed three dollars a year to its income. All officers and trustees serve without pay except the Treasurer and Agent who receive proper compensation.

At this first meeting Mayor T. C. Talmadge of Brooklyn spoke eulogistically of the "generous donor, whose name shall be held in remembrance by a grateful people," and in his reply Mr. Heeney stated that, while he wished no restrictions on the charity of the society he wanted it understood that it was mainly his desire to have his Catholic fellow-countrymen and their families assisted in their needs. Bishop Hughes was elected the first president of the society; Wm. H. Peck, secretary; James Friel, treasurer; and Patrick Halegan, agent. The deed conveying the property to the society was handed to the trustees September 17, 1845. Mr. Heeney for some time concerned himself with the operations of the charity, and attended the meetings of the trustees, the last one on March 27, 1848. He was then in failing health and died on May 3d following. His funeral took place May 6th, when, after a requiem Mass at St. Paul's, his remains were placed in the vault he had built in the rear of the church. Set in the wall and surmounted by a portrait bust is this epitaph:



"In memory of Cornelius Heeney, who departed this life on the 3d day of May, 1848, in the 94th year of his age. Born in King's County, Ireland, he was a citizen of the United States from the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Throughout his life he was much respected for his many Christian virtues, and was distinguished as the friend of the widow and orphan by his numerous acts of private benevolence and liberal gifts for the erection and support of institutions for their benefit; and, at his death, by the munificent bequest of a large estate for their relief and comfort. Requiescat in pace. Erected by his executors, James Friel and Peter Turner, with the concurrence of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society, of which he was the founder."

After his death a swarm of alleged heirs and next-of-kin tried to upset the deed of trust and grab the estate. In the long and vexatious legal contests that followed the late Charles O'Connor successfully defended the title of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society and preserved the trust for the purpose to which Cornelius Heeney intended it should be used. Its income is most prudently administered by the successors of the original Board of Trustees in the manner set forth in the charter, but the prediction at the first meeting that the name of the generous donor would "be held in remembrance by a grateful people" has not proved true. Few of the present generation can tell who Cornelius Heeney was, or why his name should be held in grateful recollection by the Catholics of New York.

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF PERUVIAN BARK (QUININE) IN EUROPE.\*

BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D., LIT.D.

OF all the vegetable gifts that the New World has given to mankind, it is hardly rash to say that none has proved of more benefit than the bark of the Cinchona tree, found on the slopes of the Andes. As a specific against malaria it has been carried to every quarter of the earth and is valued, even to-day, as a most efficacious remedy. Modern medicine also makes use of it as a general febrifuge, and though attempts have been made to substitute other remedies, none seems to have stood the test of time as well as the bark, in the form of sulphate of quinine. How extensively it contributes to the relief of suffering mankind may be inferred by a glance at the commercial statistics, let us say of Germany and the United States of America. Germany, during the year 1903, imported Cinchona bark amounting to 3,678 tons, the value of which is given as \$1,195,000. During the same year the medical preparations obtained from Peruvian bark which were exported are stated to have weighed one hundred and ninety-seven tons and to have had the value of \$1,773,000. We are not in the position to give the value of the quinine used in Germany during the same period. The United States imported during the year ending June 30, 1904, Cinchona bark appraised at \$501,375, while they exported during the same year medical preparations of quinine valued at \$6,586. This gives us at least an approximate idea of the amount of quinine used for medical purposes in our country.

If the cure of disease and the relief of pain is a civilizing and a humanizing work, then it will be granted that the Cinch-

\* Kritische Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der China-Rinde. By Professor Joseph Rompel, S.J. 8vo. Feldkirch, 1905.

ona bark has been a great boon to the world, and that the men who first brought its medicinal qualities to the attention of Europe, are justly entitled to be classed among the benefactors of mankind.

If the question be asked why Father Rompel, who is Professor at the Jesuit College Stella Matutina at Feldkirch in Austria, selected for his theme a problem in the history of medicine, he gives us a straightforward and satisfactory answer. Father Rompel is a botanist. While studying the family of *Umbelliferae* his attention was called to the great resemblance which exists between it and the *Cinchona* trees from which Peruvian bark is derived. His curiosity once aroused he became interested in the history of these trees, the more so because of the connection of his Order with the Peruvian bark. This bark, perhaps the most valuable specific known to modern medicine, is also called Jesuit's bark, and Cardinal's bark, the former because its healing properties were first made known by Jesuits in South America, the latter because Cardinal de Lugo, a famous Jesuit theologian, in the seventeenth century had used his influence to spread the knowledge of the remedy and for several years distributed it gratis to the suffering poor in the city of Rome. That the Jesuit missionaries had learned from their Indian wards the curative properties of the bark was universally stated. Its dissemination in Europe, however, was ascribed in many modern scientific books to Lady Aña de Osorio, Countess of Chinchon, the wife of the Peruvian viceroy. This lady, we are told, was cured of the malaria in the year 1638. Three years later, when she and her husband returned to Spain they brought with them and spread the knowledge of the new febrifuge. Of course this story, at least so far as it concerns the popularizing of the medicine in Europe, seems out of harmony with the names Jesuit's powder and Cardinal's powder, especially the latter, and Father Rompel determined to inquire whether the Countess' or the Cardinal's claims were better founded. There were other features connected with the introduction of this drug which interested the Feldkirch professor. The time at which Peruvian bark was

brought to Europe and made known there was the time when the Jesuit Order was most powerful and most hated. With a very large proportion of the Protestant population of Europe anything coming from Jesuits or connected with them was an object of suspicion. So it happened that, as Sir Clement Markham amusedly reports, Peruvian bark was slow in finding its way in some Protestant countries, for instance England. Anything in which the Jesuits had a hand must have some wicked side, and as Peruvian bark proved to be good in itself, some good souls were convinced that the wicked Jesuits had made use of it for their own enrichment, and had not been too careful in the choice of their means of spreading its use. Cardinal de Lugo, these people persuaded themselves was the procurator-general, or in fact the general of the Jesuit Order. Like a modern promoter he immediately saw the financial possibilities of the drug and resolved to enrich himself from the product of the Cinchona plant, as speculative spirits have recently enriched themselves by advertising the salutary effects of St. Jacob's or Omega Oil. But the Jesuit Cardinal possessed means of advertising compared to which the geese of Omega Oil are mere humming-birds. The geese were poor cacklers compared with the papal bull, and as some orthodox Pope haters had invented the Pope's bull against tobacco so these good people created a papal bull for Peruvian bark. All this, our readers see, is quite romantic, and the romance interested Father Rompel who, as a realist in history, is opposed to such romancing. He undertook to trace the true history of the spread of Jesuit's bark. The latest and most authoritative scientific works are unsatisfactory. Each modern author appeared, to use a frequently occurring modern metaphor, "to stand upon the shoulders of his predecessor," and the solidity of the entire acrobatic structure had ultimately to be judged by an appeal to the very earliest records.

But an appeal to the earliest records is not always a simple matter; and so it took Father Rompel several years. During these years he ransacked eighteen of the most important European libraries, German, Belgian, Dutch, French, and



*CINCHONA MICRONSHA.*



Italian, including the imperial libraries at Berlin and Vienna. No paper bearing on the early history of Peruvian bark, however insignificant, seems to have escaped his keen eyes. The result of his researches he has in part laid down in the brochure before us, with the contents of which we propose to make our readers acquainted.

The Feldkirch professor reserves for future publication the story of the discovery of the Cinchona bark on the slopes of the Andes in Peru, as also the story of the transmission to Spain. As his investigation consists substantially of a recitation and examination of the oldest printed documents on quinine, he only drops occasional hints as to the career of the remedy prior to its appearance in print. We shall follow Father Rompel to trace the earliest printed notices of the remedy in the various countries of Europe according to chronological sequence. But before doing so it is advisable to establish two or three points to be borne in mind by way of guides in the story given below.

The first cardinal point to be remembered is that quinine was brought to Europe at least in the year 1632. For this we have the authority of the Genoese physician, Sebastiano Bado, sometimes written Baldo in his work *Anastasis Corticis Peruviae*, who cites as his authority the Spanish physician Ville-robel. In the second place the date of the Countess of Chinchon's illness is 1638 and that of her return to Spain with her husband, the viceroy of Peru, is 1641. A comparison of these dates makes it clear that the Chinchons were not the first to publish the virtues of Peruvian bark in Europe.

We shall now take our readers to the Spanish low countries, that is to say to the modern kingdom of Belgium. The first printed notice of the quinine plant that Rompel has dug up in Belgium is contained in a medical work by Hermann van der Heyden, town-physician of Ghent, published by him in 1643 in that city under the title of "*Discours et advis sur les flux de ventre douloureux*" and so on. In this work the Belgian doctor, treating of malaria, recommends as a remedy one drachm of *Pulvis Indicus*. It is true that the word *Indicus* may point to

the East Indies as well as to America, and it is also true that in the early part of the seventeenth century, besides Peruvian bark there was another remedy used against malaria, coming from Asia and called *Radix Chinae*, or *Chinchina*, while Peruvian bark is called *Cortex Chinae*.\* Still the reasons given by Rompel for identifying the *Pulvis Indicus* here spoken of with Peruvian bark appear entirely convincing. Van der Heyden tells us that the remedies indicated had been tested by him for some time before, and Rompel infers that he cannot have referred to a time after 1641 or 1642, leaving a bare possibility without any probability that the bark he used came from the supply brought by the Countess Chinchon and going to confirm Bado's statement. Van der Heyden's statement—the earliest printed reference to Peruvian bark—was discovered by Rompel in the library of the University of Louvain. The next book published in the Spanish low countries bearing on the question at issue was written by Jean Jacques Chifflet, a native of Besancon, and for many years court physician at Brussels. The work is notable, not only as the first work especially dealing with Peruvian bark, but also as the first book written to assail this medicine. The attack thus made received a speedy answer. It came from the pen of Honore Fabre (also known as Honoratus Fabri), a French Jesuit living in Rome. Fabri's pamphlet appeared in 1655, and is the only contribution by a Jesuit author in the quinine controversy. It indicates, however, that the Roman Jesuits felt a special interest in the question of the merits of the new medicament. Fabri's pamphlet did not remain unanswered. The new assailant of Peruvian bark was a Dutchman, Dr. Plempe or Plempius, born in Amsterdam and the first medical professor who wrote in opposition to the new remedy. He wrote in 1655 under the pseudonym of Melippus Protimus. Besides Chifflet and Plempe we meet in Belgium with the name of Roland Sturmius as a writer on Peruvian bark. Roland Sturmius was a native of Louvain, who practised at Delft, so well known to us as the

\* The origin of the word *Chinae* to designate both the Asiatic and the American plants is unknown.



home of the blue pottery products that were the joy of the Knickerbocker housewife. His work is dated 1659, and its nature shows that the controversial period was well-nigh over for quinine. Sturmius undertakes to explain, on theoretical principles, the action of the South American medicine.

We have begun our review of European publications with the Spanish low countries, where we meet with the first publications dealing with Peruvian bark. That this should be so is no subject for wonder, for the Cinchona plant would naturally be transmitted from Spain to the Spanish low countries sooner than to any other part of Europe. Chronological order now leads us to Italy, and first of all to Rome. The earliest printed notices of the Peruvian remedy we learn of, are notices of little printed slips containing directions for the use of the medicine, and called *Schedula Romana*. The earliest of these are ascribed to the year 1651. We next find a trace of the new medicine in a pamphlet of the celebrated physician and botanist, Pietro Castelli, who spent the last years of his busy life in Messina, where he laid out the first botanical gardens for scientific purposes. A pamphlet entitled *Responsio Chimica* which appeared in Messina in 1654, he addressed to Geronimo Bardi, a Roman physician who was an enthusiastic advocate of Peruvian bark, who asked the omniscient Castelli what was his experience with Peruvian bark. The Messina professor tells him that he had seeds of the *Chinachina* some thirty years before. The entire answer proves that Castelli misunderstood his friend, and confounded the Peruvian plant with the Asiatic root mentioned above. The pamphlet, however, brings us the testimony of Geronimo Bardi that in September, 1653, which is the date of his letter to Castelli, the American bark had been in use for some time in Rome. It is but natural to ask here how did the Peruvian bark come to Rome?

To answer this question we must go back a little further. There is sufficient evidence to show that the Peruvian bark was brought to Rome between 1642 and 1645 by Bartolome Tafur, procurator of the Peruvian province of the Society of Jesus. This man was elected procurator of his province in the year

1642. It was one of his duties as such to lay before his superiors at Madrid and Rome an account of the condition of his province. We do not know the exact date of his departure from South America, but it can hardly have been later than 1643. Of his stay in Spain there is no record, but there is a story that a Jesuit procurator-general in 1643 cured young Louis XIV. of France when attacked by malaria. Some writers attribute this cure to Cardinal de Lugo, who is called the Jesuit procurator-general, but research shows that the Cardinal did not set foot on French soil at the time in question. Rompel concludes that if the entire story be not a myth, Tafur must have been the man who supplied the Cinchona bark for Louis XIV. When Tafur reached Rome we are not informed, but he was certainly present on August 15, 1645, the opening day of the Eighth Congregation of the Jesuit Order, called to choose a successor to Father Mutius Vitelleschi. Tafur must have been the Jesuit procurator who is reported by various writers to have brought Cinchona bark to Europe and to have distributed it there. He had an excellent opportunity to do so on the occasion of the Eighth Congregation of the Society of Jesus, where representatives of the Order appeared from every country in which it was established. Father Tafur was also a friend and correspondent of the celebrated Cardinal de Lugo, and it is hardly rash to assume that the Cardinal received the Peruvian medicine from Tafur in 1644 or 1645. At all events, from about this time to the end of the Cardinal's life in 1660, he took an active interest in the spread of the medicine. Not that he turned its dissemination to money-making purposes—de Lugo was a man of science and of charity, not a seeker for wealth. We know that he distributed the febrifuge to the sick poor at his own residence. But withal he took an earnest interest in spreading the medicine. It was he who induced the body physician of Pope Innocent X., Gabriel Fonseca, to institute a scientific investigation of the value of the bark. Fonseca's report has been preserved, and declares that the powder is not only harmless but salutary. De Lugo's activity in behalf of the new medicine extended to the end of his life in 1660,

and accounts for the name of Cardinal's powder given to the Cinchona preparation. At the same time that de Lugo was vigorously promoting the spread of the new medicine, the Jesuit house in Rome aided in the good work. We learn that the lay brother Peter Paul Pucciarini (1600-1661) distributed the healing powder to needy applicants at the dispensary connected with the Jesuit residence in Rome. Probably this fact is not unconnected with the name Jesuit's powder, which for a long time was the popular designation of the Peruvian bark.

We may now resume our review of the printed books and pamphlets which deal with or touch upon the story of the Cinchona bark. The first two Italian publications, the *Schedula Romana* and Castelli's *Responsio Chimica* we have seen are rather insignificant witnesses to the use of the South American medicine prior to 1653. We now pass to the first Italian publication which deals professedly with our subject, the pamphlet of Father Honore Fabre, S.J. It is the only essay written by a Jesuit on the subject. As has been remarked before, it was a reply to Chifflet's attack, and the author, who seems to have been a man of medical acquirements, makes an attempt to explain the action of the drug by the medical theories current at the time. Fabre wrote under the pseudonym of Antimus Conygius. Of the early Italian writers on Peruvian bark probably none is more important than the Genoese physician Sebastian Bado, sometimes called Baldo. When he appeared in the arena as the champion of the new remedy he was a man of great experience as a practising physician and of no little reputation. The first work on Peruvian bark is dated 1656, and was an answer to the animadversions of the Dutch professor Plempius mentioned by us before. Its title is given as *Cortex Peruviae redivivus* and heralds that Peruvian bark is the *profligator februm*, the conqueror of fevers. Baldo was a staunch backer of the American conqueror. Not satisfied with his tilt against Plempius he wrote quite an extensive work in support thereof, which was published in Genoa in 1663 under the title of *Anastasis*. The other Genoese physician whose correspondence with Castelli was touched upon above (Geronimo

Bardi), is also said to have written a work in advocacy of Peruvian bark. This was ready for the press in 1660, but as no copy of the pamphlet has so far been found it remains doubtful whether it was ever published. In 1661 appeared the work of Gaudentio Brunaci, *De Cina Cina*. He was a Venetian by birth, but had been educated at Rome. His pamphlet assumes the salutary character of the American drug and undertakes to explain its action on the medical principles then dominant. Brunaci's work is the last Italian book on Peruvian bark we shall enumerate.

Leaving Italy let us proceed to Austria. The Emperor Ferdinand III. is the first person to betray some acquaintance with the new American remedy. In a letter alluded to in Chifflet's above-mentioned pamphlet, written probably toward the end of 1652, he gives the direction that his brother Leopold William, at that time ill with malaria at Brussels, should not be subjected to the treatment with the American powder. The first expression of the merits of our bark printed in Austria is contained in a work entitled *Hercules Medicus*, published in 1657. Hoefer, a native of Bavaria who had practised medicine in Austria since 1640, and was subsequently body physician to the Emperor Ferdinand, was its author. It is little more than the repetition of the opinion of John Gregory Glantz, body physician to the Emperor. This same Glantz, as early as 1663, had written a letter to Chifflet condemning the Peruvian drug, which had been published in 1654 in Plemp's diatribe. Glantz's letter is dated May 5, 1653, at Regensburg. In it he thanks Chifflet for sending him some of the febrifuge powder, and informs him that after experimenting with it he condemned it.

From Austria we pass to Germany. The first printed work on Peruvian bark was published at Leipsic in 1663. It is entitled *Antiquartii Peruviani Historica*, i. e., History of the Peruvian Antidote to Quartan Fever, and was written by way of examination thesis by Christoph Rothmann. Most of Rothmann's facts are derived from Roland Sturmius, and the thesis was written under the direction of his teacher, Professor P. Ammann. These medical authorities, no doubt largely in-

fluenced by the testimony of Sturmius, are found to be champions of the American powder.

A thesis by a medical student, Francis Bovionier, who is backed by nine other doctors, takes up a position diametrically opposed to that of the Salesian Rothmann. His thesis was presented to Dr. Daniel Arbinet, the president of the examining board.

In North Germany and Denmark the new American febrifuge stirred a ripple of interest almost as early as in Austria and in Germany itself. In 1654 Dr. Henry von Moinichen of Schleswig makes known to his former professor, Doctor Thomas Bartholin of Copenhagen, that he has received information concerning the Peruvian bark from the court physician of the Duke of Holstein at Gottorp, Joel Langelottus. This letter did not appear in print till 1663, when it was published by Dr. Bartholin. Bartholin had, however, published two years before (1661) another work, in which he devotes a lengthy section to the discussion of the Cinchona drug. This book also contains the first print of the Cinchona tree. It had been communicated to Bartholin by Geronimus Bardi, through Dr. Henry Moinichen, who had gone to Italy in 1653 and resided at Rome for the following five years (1655-1660). We see from this and from facts already mentioned that the centers from which Peruvian bark was spread over central Europe were Rome and Brussels.

From which of these two centers the drug found its way to England is not in evidence, though the neighborhood of Belgium would suggest Brussels. However this may be, the first mention in England of the new remedy appears in a Latin pamphlet by Dr. Thomas Willis, dated 1659, and entitled *Diatribae duae Medico-Philosophicae* (Two Medico-Philosophical Essays). The English physician is not enthusiastic regarding the medical value of the Cinchona bark, but in Father Rompel's statement it appears that in subsequent works he shows a more friendly attitude. Not long afterwards the spread of the remedy becomes apparent in the daily life of London itself. The *Mercurius Politicus*, a political newspaper published at this time in

the English capital, furnishes our authors with several advertisements extolling its virtues. In numbers 422, 426, 439, and 545, dating from the year 1658, the reader's attention is called by advertisers to the excellent powder known by the name of the Jesuit's powder, which can be purchased at various London apothecary shops. These advertisements point to some familiarity with the remedy on the part of the public. But if Professor Schaer of Strassburg is right, further propaganda was needed and a new prophet was not wanting. He appeared in the person of Dr. Robert Talbor. He was an active advocate of Peruvian bark from about 1670 to 1680. He died in 1681.

To sum up Father Rompel's story, Peruvian bark was first brought to Europe in 1632. We find undeniable traces of it before 1645, the year of the Eighth General Congregation of the Jesuit Order. After this it spread rapidly, so that by 1652 or 1653 we have printed records of its presence throughout continental Europe as far as the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Russia. To England it seems not to have come before 1658. It therefore required twenty-six years to introduce this most valuable and beneficent medical agent in the more civilized states of Europe, if we count from the time of its first arrival, and fourteen years from the time of its distribution under the most favorable circumstances by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. In these days of railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, and telephones, this appears an interminably long time. To-day a medicament may be discovered, introduced, and condemned, inside of five years. Antipyrine, which was heralded as a substitute for quinine some thirty years ago, has long retired to a modest obscurity.

The story we have just recited is instructive in many ways. It is a tale which tells us of human narrowness and human short-sightedness, but it is also a new instance of the advantages which civilization has received from the unselfish labors of Christian missionaries.

## THE ESKIMO IN GREENLAND.\*

BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D., LIT.D.

THE appearance and the contents of this volume are equally attractive to the scholar. Rarely do we meet with an English book that can challenge this product of the Danish press in the quality of its paper and the beauty of its typography. Mr. Thalbitzer is to be congratulated on his good fortune in finding publishers of such marked taste.

The reader naturally takes up a volume written by a Dane and printed in Copenhagen with some misgivings as to the quality of the English, but the perusal of a few pages sets his apprehensions at rest. For the language glides along smoothly, and rarely if ever reminds him that the work was printed in Copenhagen and not in London. The title of the book promises us a linguistic study of the Eskimo or Inuit language. The author, though he displays no academic title, is a phoneticist trained in the school of Jespersen. He has certainly spared no pains to master the problem he has set himself. He was not satisfied to study the Eskimo language from books, but betook himself to the home of these people in Greenland, and studied the living language from their own lips. Two years he spent in their ice-bound settlements, listened to their folk-lore, and subjected the phonetics of their language to carefully chosen tests. He collected their fairy tales and sympathetically listened to their music. He observed their customs and examined their antiquities. At the same time he searched every nook of old Norse literature for records that might throw light on the history of these tribes in Greenland and their relation to the old Norse settlements in that earliest discovered portion of the western world.

Our readers will thankfully follow Mr. Thalbitzer's guid-

\* A *Phonetical Study of the Eskimo Language*. By William Thalbitzer. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1904.

ance through the scant records of the earliest Eskimo doings in Greenland. As the story of Greenland's occupation by the Inuits is tantamount to the tale of the destruction of the Northmen who settled there, we are here rehearsing the closing scenes of the first chapter in the European discovery and settlement of America. The Northmen with their leader, Eric the Red, it will be remembered, colonized Greenland about the year 985. The country was uninhabited; still Eric and his followers soon learned that they were not the first to visit their new home. They found stone implements and traces of human dwellings, showing the presence of visitors before them, and foremost among these objects fragments of skin-boats.

Who were the people who had thus left their traces in the neighborhood of Eiriksfiord? The author of the *Islandingabok* calls them *Skraelings*, and *Skraelings* was the name given by the later Greenlanders to the tribes who afterwards assailed them in their settlements. We have no reason to doubt this identification, for the Eskimos are the only people who are known to us to have invaded Greenland's shores. Besides, the pioneer Greenlanders found skin-boats among the objects left by the visitors who had preceded them; and of all the tribes dwelling on the northeastern shores of our continent skin-boats were used by the Eskimos only.

These skin-boats also indicate that the *Skraelings*, whom Thorfinn Karlsefni met with when in 1003 he sought to establish a colony of Northmen on the coast of Vinland, were Eskimos.

Mr. Thalbitzer, agreeing with the late Mr. Storm, one of the foremost authorities on the Vinland expedition of the Northmen, places Vinland in modern Nova Scotia, and indeed there are many reasons for preferring Nova Scotia to Rhode Island as the location of Thorfinn's colony. If this be correct, then the *Skraelings* who drove Karlsefni from Vinland were in all probability Eskimos. For we know, from the testimony of Baron de Lahontan, writing about 1700 A. D. that in his day the Eskimos extended as far south as fifty degrees north latitude; that is to say, to the northern part of the Gulf of St.



Lawrence. The Baron also dwells with marked emphasis on the skin-boats of the Eskimos. In view of this, and of the fact that no Indian tribes are known to have used skin-boats, we must admit that Mr. Thalbitzer's identification of the Vinland Skraelings with the Greenland Skraelings or Eskimos is strongly supported by his evidence.

But it is time to return to Greenland. For upwards of two hundred and fifty years, the Normans dwelt there in peace, and we do not even hear of their being alarmed by the Skraelings. It is in 1266, that we again come upon traces of them. According to Hauk's book, the Norse settlers were wont, at suitable times, to penetrate further northward, in their large ships, for the purpose of fishing or hunting. One of their northern-most stations, if not the last of all, was Kroksfjiardarheidi. In the year just mentioned, the priest, Arnaldr, seems to have heard of the presence of Skraelings in the north, and at his suggestion a scouting expedition was sent in that direction. Traces of Skraeling remains were found at Kroksfjiardarheidi, as well as to the north of that place. The Skraelings themselves, however, were not to be seen, and the bold mariners returned to Gardar, the episcopal city, without information. From this story we gather, 1st, That the Northmen had temporary huts as far north as Kroksfjiardarheidi, and 2d, That the Eskimos had not, in 1260, penetrated as far south as that place.

But the time when they were to come into closer contact with the Norsemen was not far distant. In the *Historia Norwegiae*, found in Scotland in 1849—in the judgment of scholars dating back to the thirteenth century—we read that north of the Greenland settlements established by the Norsemen dwelt a dwarfish people called Skraelings. They had no iron, but used whalebone for bows and arrows and sharp stones for knives. From this statement Father Joseph Fischer, S.J., infers, and it seems to us correctly, that when the *Historia Norwegiae* was written the Northmen had come into contact with the Skraelings.

Mr. Thalbitzer refers to an Eskimo tradition centering

about Umanak Fjord which speaks of a fight between the Northmen and the Eskimos. This tradition was gathered by the "Kateket," Abraham Eliassen, and was sent to him by Dr Rink in 1861. To us it appears rash to lay any stress on this legend. Legends may have some value in determining the location of some event or its connection with some great personage, but in this case the legend was written, not only centuries after the occurrence of the events, but also centuries after the Eskimos began to hear the Norse version of these events. The records of the French and Spanish missionaries furnish many examples which prove how speedily the uncivilized people that came under their influence combine parts of the Christian tradition with their own legends. It would be rash to believe with any degree of implicitness a story recounted after one hundred and fifty years of contact between the Inuits and the Danes; and all the more rash because this is the solitary exception to the constant rule that there are no Eskimo traditions of the early relations of their tribe with the Norse settlers in Greenland.

To resume, therefore, we have evidence of the closer contact of Norsemen and Eskimo during the thirteenth century but of the nature of that contact, whether friendly or hostile, our sources are silent until the following century. The narration so far set down gives us the impression that the Eskimo visitors were merely wanderers, whose arrival and stay in northwest Greenland were accidental. That they aroused alarm among the Europeans is an inference hardly warranted by our scanty information. It is otherwise in the fourteenth century. The Eskimos now appear as the assailants, and receive the impression that they are numerically superior to the Norse colonists. Take the narrative of Ivar Bardsson. He was the Bishop of Gardar's agent in Greenland between the years 1430 and 1471. His information was probably written down after his return to Norway at the latter date. He tells us of an invasion of Vesterbygd by the Skraelings, of an expedition organized by the governor to expel the invaders, of his connection with this expedition. When the party of Norsemen

reached Vesterbygd that place had, in truth, been sacked, but the Skraelings had already retreated. The destruction of Vesterbygd took place in 1379. The Skraelings killed eighteen inhabitants and carried off two boys, who were enslaved.

Once more the curtain falls, and is not lifted again until the year 1418. This time our source of information is found at Rome, in the bull of Nicholas V. dated 1448. Thirty years before, the Pope tells us, the barbarians from the adjacent coast had arrived in a fleet and attacked the Norman colony at Osterbygd, had overcome the Christians, destroyed their churches, and carried off the inhabitants. The latter, it is true, had subsequently returned, at least some of them, and Nicholas enjoins the Bishop of Skalholt and Holar to send a bishop and priests to restore as far as possible the church of Greenland. From the papal bull it is clear that there was still maritime communication between Norway and Greenland some time after 1418, though in a bull of Alexander VI., dated 1492, it is stated that no ship had reached Europe from Greenland during the past eighty years. Indeed we have no authentic records of the communication with Greenland being kept open after the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The first European colony in the New World, therefore, practically ceased to exist some seventy years before Columbus discovered America.

That the knowledge of its existence had not entirely vanished appears from the maps of northern Europe, which we find in many editions of Ptolemy, both manuscript and printed. The Eskimos are not spoken of there as Skraelings, but as Pygmies. Still, no European set foot upon this old colony of the Northmen until, in the year 1576, it was rediscovered by Martin Frobisher. John Davis also paid a visit to Greenland in 1585. It has been already remarked that the Eskimos have no authoritative traditions concerning the occupation of their country by the Northmen. Egide and other Danish scholars found a number of Eskimo words which in their opinion were of Norse origin, and Mr. Thalbitzer is half inclined to believe in these etymologies, though there is nothing

convincing about them. We cannot enter into a detailed account of the later history of Greenland. This dates from 1721, when the Danes took up a second time the task of planting a European colony in that misnamed country.

The work done by Egide and other Danish missionaries in their attempt to civilize the Eskimos, deserves our highest admiration. There was neither wealth nor fame to be acquired among these poverty-stricken tribes. Even if the Greenland Eskimos have not yet universally given up their paganism, and if many old superstitions are still dominant, it is but fair to recognize the great progress made by them. The Danish missionaries were but few in number, provided with scanty means, and yet they have established in this bleak, ice-covered region, schools and printing-presses, where the natives teach and write and print. To their aid Mr. Thalbitzer is largely indebted for his success in the study of their language.

The language is *sui generis*; it has been compared with countless Asiatic dialects and with every variety of the American Indian tongue, but is found to resemble neither the one nor the other. The Eskimo idiom has a tough life. It is spoken by about thirty-three thousand men, whose dwellings are scattered from the shores of Alaska in the west of our continent to those of Greenland in the east. Many of their communities are but roaming tribes, and still the Eskimo language of Alaska does not differ more from the Eskimo language of Greenland than English differs from German.

The bulk of Mr. Thalbitzer's work is taken up by a phonetic study of the Eskimo language. We cannot enter into details, partly because they would lead us into fields foreign to the object of our society, and partly, because the Eskimo is beyond the limits of our linguistic studies. But the student who examines Mr. Thalbitzer's methods, notes the keenness of his observations, the minuteness of his investigations, the thoroughness of his system, and the conscientiousness of his reports, cannot hesitate to appreciate his work and will feel safe in declaring that it will prove of advantage to the science of language.

## AN INTERESTING RELIC.

BY CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D., LIT.D.

THERE has lately come into my hands an old Catholic Bible, the title page of which is here reproduced.

The reader will see at a glance that it claims to be a copy of the first edition of the Douay or Rheims version, published in this country by Mathew Carey of Philadelphia. It is dated 1805. We do not know what was the custom of publishers in the earliest years of the 19th century, but the book can be called a copy of the first edition only in a modified sense. The text of the book, it is true, agrees from Genesis to the Tables at the end with the first American edition of the Douay Bible, published by Carey, Stewart and Company in 1790. The 18th century edition contains a list of subscribers extending over five pages. Our copy has a list covering only two. A study of this list reveals the omission of so many names that we should expect to find there that we feel convinced that it is only a supplement of the original list. Altogether the inference appears justified that this "first" edition while printed from the original types is a new impression.

On examining the text of the work, we remark with interest, that it omits the third and fourth Books of the Maccabees, the third and fourth Books of Esdras, and the Prayer of Manasses. This is in accordance with a decree of the Fourth Session of the Council of Trent published at length on the page preceding the text of Genesis (it is not numbered). Let us now proceed to study the list of subscribers. Here it is.

### PHILADELPHIA.

John Angue.  
Jacob Adams.  
Anthony Arnold.  
Samuel Arnold.  
John Boggs.

Joseph Bastian.  
James Boyle.  
Francis Briggs.  
Neil Boyle.  
Patrick Boyle.

Philip Boyle.  
Matthew Browne.  
Patrick Barry.  
Daniel Dunn.  
John Doyle.

Martin Decker.	William Connell.	Anthony Hoover.
William Devin.	Timothy Crowley.	Patrick Hayes.
Patrick Dalton.	James Cain.	Mary Ann Hemings.
Henry Dunlap.	Bernard Connor.	Matthew Harken.
James Doran.	Nicholas Crap.	John Hughes.
T. Doran.	Michael Cummings.	James Harken.
Charles Duffey.	Joseph Crap.	Peter Johnson.
James Dougherty.	Jacques Capdevielle.	Charles Johnson.
Francis Davis.	William Cashley.	Patrick Linehan.
Manuel De Camran.	Tomothey Collins.	Aime Le Breton.
Timothy Desmond.	Ellen Crawley.	(6 copies)
Thomas Jansen.	Hugh Carlen.	Roger Logue.
John Kelly.	James Cody.	Michael Lealy.
Phillip Kelly.	Andrew Cassady.	Matthew Lyons.
Thomas King.	Neale Clarke.	Michael Leahy.
Hugh Kelly.	Edward Cassidy.	Samuel Lilly.
John Keating.	Alexander Cain.	John Logsdon.
John Lewis.	P. Callaghan.	James M'Cafferty.
John Lalor.	Charlotte Cassidy.	James Miller.
Francis Lynch.	Margaret Cauffman.	William M'Name.
James Lynch.	Richard Coale.	James M'Knight.
Thomas Loyd.	John Daley.	Michael Magrath.
Lewis Lorange.	Joseph Dugan.	Lawrence Maher.
Patrick Lean.	Edward Doherty.	Patrick M'Cafferty.
Henry Oellers.	Richard Delehunt.	Thomas M'CLean.
Maurice Phelan.	James Doherty.	Lawrence Myers.
Thomas Peacan.	Sebastien Duffey.	Michael M'Mullen.
John P. Peters.	Anthony Dittoe.	Felix M'Carthy.
Thomas Parker.	David Durbin.	Robert Magrath.
James Quigley.	Ephraim Davis.	Patrick M'Laughlin.
Michael Quigley.	Daniel Durbin.	Francis Mongan.
Rev. John Rosseter.	Rev. Michael Egan.	Connel M'Cue.
John Richards.	Capt. Nathan Bells.	James M'Nabb.
Peter Rementer.	James Eagan.	John M'Ginnis.
Anthony Rementer.	John H. Fadon.	Felix M'Quaid.
Bernard Rooney.	Walter Fortune.	David M'Fall.
James Ruduin.	Ellen Flinn.	Michael M'Barron.
Michael Baker.	James Fox.	James Magrath.
Edward Barry.	Andrew Fraser.	Patrick Mealy.
John Boyle.	Keran Fitzgerald.	James M'Gill.
Philip Brady.	William Flenigan.	John M'Laughlin.
William Bryan.	Rene Fougeray.	William M'Neln.
John Bateson.	James Flenigan.	Arthur Mean.
James Bonner.	Michael Foy.	Maurice Moynihan.
Dennis Brannan.	Daniel Fortune.	Rachel Montgomery.
Thomas Barrett.	Richard Fowler.	Mary Myers.
John Bivens.	Stephen Girard.	William Newlin.
Peter Brian.	John Gartland.	Susannah Nagle.
Louisa Barber.	T. Gallagher.	William Naff.
Mary Barber.	Thomas Goff.	Elizabeth O'Connor.
John Butler.	Charles Gallagher.	Matthias I. O'Conway.
Leaven Barnes.	William Gerry.	Adam Offreman.
Raphael Brooke.	Thomas Glissin.	Patrick O'Donnell.
James Cosgrove.	Joseph Hunecker.	Alexander O'Brien.
John Cogsdon.	John Hurley.	Thomas Rogers.
Daniel Costin.	Thomas Henley.	William Ryan.
Patrick Colter.	Michael Higgins.	Peter Reynolds.
Martin Cashman.	Jacob Holahan.	Adam Richards.
Michael Callaghan.	Francis Harrison.	John Reilly.
Nicholas Cassady.	Mary Henderson.	George Revel.



FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST AMERICAN  
EDITION OF THE DOUAY BIBLE.





Mrs. Rivardi.  
Philip Reilly.  
Richard Smith.  
Gregory Strahan.  
Andrew Seguin.  
Philip Shaw.  
William Sweeney.  
Philip Smith.  
Peter Shade.  
Samuel Smith.  
John F. Soares.  
J. Sharp.  
Anthony Snyder.

Joseph Smith.  
John Shorb.  
Thomas Stone.  
Philip Toner.  
John Taggart.  
Cornelius Tiers.  
Hugh Tearn.  
John Tirenan.  
John Tempion.  
Jacob Trine.  
Sullivan Valley.  
Thomas Uncleson.  
James P. Whelan.

James Welsh.  
John Williams.  
Michael Waltman.  
Joseph A. Wigmore.  
Thomas Wheling.  
James Wickham.  
Mord. Wetherill.  
Francis Worthy.  
Patrick G. Ward.  
Alexander Whitesides.  
Abraham White, Sr.  
Abraham White, Jr.  
James Walsh.

## NEW YORK.

Peter Abram.  
Daniel Allen.  
Gerard Byrne.  
John Byrne.  
Patrick Byrne.  
Edward Carrell.  
Matthew Carroll.  
Michael Cunningham.  
Patrick Connor.  
Patrick Carroll.  
Philip Carrin.  
William Connolly.  
Patrick Dickson.  
Stephen Dempsey.  
Dennis Doyle.  
A. Delsugemare.  
Patrick Daly.  
Eleanor Dougherty.  
John Durne.  
Ross Duffey.  
Michael Doyle.  
Mary Donalds.  
Thomas Dally.  
John Divine.  
Dennis Dougherty.  
James Englishby.  
Luke Figera.  
John Fogarty.  
Michael Flinn.  
Robert Fox.  
Patrick Gallagher.  
William Burk.  
Ebenezer Beatty.  
William Brenman.  
John W. Barry.  
Patrick Barry.  
Patrick Gannon.  
Joseph Gurmly.  
Michael Gibney.  
George Gotsbergen.  
Joseph Hill.  
Christopher Hore.

James Hayes.  
Dennis Healy.  
William Hawthorn.  
John Hinton.  
Michael Hunt.  
Charles Hart.  
Hugh O. Hare.  
Joseph Idley.  
John Johnson.  
Peter Kelly.  
Thomas Kelly.  
Dennis Kenny.  
Barnard Keenan.  
Moses Kerevan.  
John Knevingen.  
John Kehoe.  
Cornelius Keffy.  
James Lynch.  
John Linn.  
Philip Lambert.  
Peter Barre.  
Lawrence Byrne.  
Char. Connell.  
Dominick Commis.  
Catharine Collins.  
John Murphy.  
Dennis M'Laughlin.  
Felix M'Cabe.  
Andrew Morris.  
Edward M'Laughlin.  
John M'Kenna.  
Patrick M'Kay.  
Henry H. More.  
Thomas Mooney.  
Hugh M'Garagan.  
Matthias Mahony.  
Patrick M'Cudle.  
James M'Coy.  
Peter M'Eaver.  
Patrick Magrath.  
Charles Mahony.  
Henry Mehan.

Edmund Murphy.  
James M'Kean.  
Nicholas Myers.  
Peter Marks.  
John M'Mahon.  
Mary Moffett.  
James M'Clean.  
Rev. Matthew O'Brien.  
John Olive.  
Patrick Calloby.  
Catharine Chappell.  
Daniel Campion.  
William Connelly.  
Thomas Cawfield.  
John O'Connor.  
Hugh Pollen.  
Alexander Piraud.  
Luke Peinany.  
Lawrence Powers.  
Michael Roth.  
Martin Reddin.  
Lawrence Ryan.  
James Redmond.  
Michael Rafferty.  
John Silva.  
James Shiel.  
John Skerrit.  
Thomas Tracey.  
Hubertus Van Ousterstep.  
Mary Walsh.  
James Wallace.  
Barnaby Walsh.  
Stephen White.  
James Walsh.  
Patrick Ward.  
Bridget Watson.  
Michael Wilde.  
William Walsh.  
John Walsh.  
William Wallace.

## BALTIMORE.

James Ash.	David Donnelly.	Ds. M'Henry.
Joseph Berrie.	P. Dinkee.	Edward Murphy.
Daniel Brand.	Basil S. Elder.	John M'Gurk.
P. Jefferson Byrne.	Peter Foy.	Rev. Mr. Moranvillier.
Mathurin Beauveau.	John L. Gillmeyer.	Hugh M'Donnell.
Hugh Bonner.	James Goulding.	John E. Murray.
Rev. Mr. Beeston.	G. Gardener.	John Parsons.
Jacob Baker.	James Gordon.	Patrick P. Quinlan.
Rt. Rev. John Carroll,	Martin Griffin.	George Reynolds.
Bishop of Baltimore.	Ignatius Gough.	Hugh Sweeny.
Martin Cunningham.	Jas. Ganteaume.	Michael Scott.
Samuel Combs.	Pliny Hamilton.	Richard Smith.
Michael Curran.	William Jenkins.	Richard Spence.
James Cloney.	James Kennedy.	M. Tiernan.
Daniel Carrick.	Teague Kerr.	Joseph Thomas.
Patrick Cloherty.	William Kelser.	Luke Tiernan.
Bernard Coskery.	Samuel D. Le Grand.	John Tobin.
Rev. Dr. Wm. Du-	Arnold Luers, Jr.	James Timon.
Bourg.	Thomas Long.	William Vize.
Peter Daly.	James Molloy.	John Walsh.
Maurice Delany.	Francis Mitchell.	Robert Walsh.
Jacob Deal.	Hugh M'Guire.	William Ward.
George Deal.	John M'Guire.	David Wilson.
Thomas Coleman.	William Heffernan.	Thomas O'Denley.
Patrick Cassily.	Edward Jenkins.	Terence O'Reilly.
James Carson.	Walter Jenkins.	Peirce Woods.
William Casey.	Thomas C. Jenkins.	Jonathan Wheeler.
Kieran Campion.	James Irwin.	Richard Williams.
John Duff.	Michael M'Donald.	James Williams.
Simon Donnelly.	Owen M'Manus.	James Wall.
John Hanan.	Alexander M'Donald.	Louis A. Zimmer.
Joseph Herbert.	Sebastian Nusser.	

WASHINGTON CITY, GEORGETOWN,  
FREDERICKTOWN.

John Adams.	James Gannon.	Peter M'Laughlin.
Rev. Dr. John Du	Samuel Hamilton.	Robert Murphy.
Bois.	Thady Hogan.	Right Rev. Leonard
Joseph Brook.	William G. Hobbs.	Neale, Bishop of
Charles Carrell.	Leonard Harbaugh, Jr.	Gortyna.
Bartholomew Carrilo.	Lawrence M'Kennan.	(10 copies.)
Robert Clark.	James M'Lane.	Ignatius Newton.
Joseph Cassin.	George King.	James Ord, Jr.
William Clark.	Rev. W. Matthews,	John Purcell, Halifax.
Gen. H. Carberry.	Pastor of St. Pat-	(2 copies.)
Timothy Crawley.	rick's.	Walter Quaid.
Patrick Campbell.	Timothy Manahan.	Cornelius Ragan.
Patrick Deery.	Patrick Morrey.	Thomas G. Slye.
Joseph Dougherty.	Thomas Micardel.	William Spinh.
James Dardis.	Michael Mullany.	Thomas Simms.
Rev. Charles Duha-	Daniel Morgan.	Wm. Scott.
mel.	Michael M'Cormack.	Anthony Steel.
Ignatius G. Edlin.	Philemon Moss.	Nicholas Travis.
Benjamin Finnacorn.	Simeon Mead.	Charles Warlan.
Christian Flant.	Charles M'Nantz.	

The orthography of proper names being very arbitrary and difficult, especially where the writing is not legible, it is hoped that any errors in the foregoing list will be excused.

If we examine this list it reveals the following facts. Five hundred and eighteen copies of the edition of 1805 were subscribed for. Of these 238 are credited to Philadelphia, 125 to New York, 93 to Baltimore, 62 to Washington and its neighborhood. These divisions must probably be taken in a somewhat broad spirit. It is likely that there were agencies in the various cities mentioned and that the subscribers at the several agencies were credited to the cities where these were established. If we inquire into the nationality of the subscribers, the answer is clear and ringing. Most of them are Irish or of Irish extraction as their names testify. There is an infusion of English names most of which, I feel certain, are those of Catholics. Still the Christian names of a few (of the Ebenezer type) suggest that their bearers were Protestants, though of course, this is a mere guess, but a likely one.

In the Philadelphia list, we come upon the following names of a non-English and a non-Irish type. Capdevielle, Cauffman, De Camran, Dittoe, Fougeray, Girard, Huneker, Jasen, Loronge, Le Breton, Offreman, Shorb, Shade, Rivardi, Rementer, Oellers. In all sixteen names out of 238, with twenty-two copies.

In the New York list we note the following foreign names: Brenman, Delsuguemare, Figera, Gotsbergen, Knevingen, Piraud, Peinany, Silva, Van Ousterstep. Nine out of 125.

In the Baltimore list we find: Beauveau, Gillmeyer, Luers, Moranvillier, Nusser, Zimmer. Six out of 93.

The Washington list contains the foreign names of Du Bois, Carrilo, Duhamel, Christian Flant, Edlin. Five foreign out of 62.

From this tabulation we see that the foreign subscribers fell somewhat below eight per cent. As the proportion of the purchasers of an English Bible must be assumed to be less than the proportion of English speaking Catholics, it is plain that the foreign Catholic population in what is practically the Middle

States of the Union must have been considerably more than eight per cent of the entire body of Catholics.

The list shows that in 1805, the Catholic population who were well enough situated to buy a Bible were to be found chiefly in the Middle States and Maryland.

If we scrutinize the list for the purpose of finding families that were well known then or have since become known our harvest is not great. Beginning with the clerical names, we note those of Bishop Carroll himself and of his coadjutor and successor, Archbishop Leonard Neale, who, we remark, subscribed for ten copies. Besides these prelates the names of Father Matthew O'Brien, who was the pastor of St. Peter's Church, Barclay Street, New York, appears, as also those of the Rev. Mr. Du Bourg who became Bishop of New Orleans in after years, Rev. Mr. Moranvillier, probably a Sulpician, Rev. John Du Bois, third Bishop of New York, Rev. Mr. Beaston of Baltimore, and the Rev. Messrs. Duhamel and W. Matthews, pastor of St. Patrick's, and both credited to Washington. The large number of French names is easily explained. The French Revolution had brought many clerical exiles to our shores, including a large colony of Sulpicians sent here by the Superior at Paris, Monsieur Emery. They were an exemplary body of men and the readiness with which they subscribed to the English Bible is only a new proof of their zeal.

Passing now to the laymen appearing in the list, we start with Mr. Purcell of Halifax, Nova Scotia, who took two copies and is the only subscriber outside of the United States.

In New York, the first name we meet with that is not yet extinct is the name of Daniel Campion. He was probably the ancestor of Mr. Jeremiah Campion, well known to New Yorkers as a merchant and banker. The Gotsbergers, who were related to the Pardows, numbered some publishers among their family. Whether any male representatives of the family are now living, I cannot tell. Joseph Idle, if I mistake not, was the sexton of St. Peter's and afterwards of the Cathedral. I have never heard of any of his descendants. Andrew Morris was a prominent figure in Catholic New York at the beginning of the nine-

teenth century. He was a trustee of St. Peter's and of the Cathedral and repeatedly member of the State Assembly. The Englisby's of New York, suggest the family of Ingoldsby, one member of which, Mr. Felix Ingoldsby, was Governor of New Jersey.

Among the Philadelphia subscribers the most interesting figure is Stephen Girard, the old French gentleman who founded Girard College and excluded therefrom every clergyman and every Bible. What led him to subscribe for the Sacred Books on this occasion is a problem we are not ready to solve. Perhaps, he felt he needed it more than the future students of Girard College. Another interesting name supplied by Philadelphia is that of Huneker. At present the most distinguished representative of the family is the musical critic so well known to New Yorkers. The family of Jacob Holahan of Philadelphia we are inclined to think is at present chiefly represented by Sister Philomena, formerly Superior of the Visitation Convent, Baltimore. The name of Cornelius Tiers was well known to Catholic New Yorkers, being represented by another Cornelius Tiers, prominent as a tea merchant. Whether the family has now died out, I cannot ascertain at present. We should like to know something about Mr. Aime Le Breton, who took six copies. Was he a book seller or did he provide for a large progeny? Mr. Anthony Dittoe is entitled to notice because of his singular cognomen, unless indeed Dittoe stands for Duffey. We may conclude our remarks on the Philadelphia list by drawing attention to the large number of German names which, however, is not to be wondered at in view of the great number of old Catholic German settlers.

The most distinguished name in the Baltimore list is that of Mr. Basil Elder. He suggests at once the late Archbishop of Cincinnati and Madame Elder of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. The Jenkins' of Baltimore are well known not only in that city but also in New York, Washington and elsewhere. We regret not to be able to throw any light on Gen. Carberry credited to Washington. Perhaps some of our readers can fill the gap.

Our readers on examining the fac-simile of the title page will

notice in the upper right hand corner the words, † J. Bish. of Balte. Our Bible therefore was at one time the property of John Carroll, Bishop, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore. The list of subscribers has already told us that Bishop Carroll had subscribed for a copy of this edition. No doubt he had also been a subscriber for the issue of 1790. Our book is therefore a relic of the revered first Bishop of the American Union. But this is not the only claim it has to our interest. Between the Old and the New Testament are inserted a number of blank pages for the registration of marriages. On the first of these pages, we find the following record:

1st of May 1806. Robert Patterson to Mary Ann Caton.

The handwriting is apparently that of Mrs. Caton, the eldest daughter of Mr. Robert Patterson, the brother of the famous beauty, who became the wife of Jerome Bonaparte, and the mother of the American Bonapartes. The marriage so recorded was not destined to last long. Mr. Patterson died after a very short wedded life and not long after his death the widow with her two sisters went to Europe, where she became the wife of the Marquis of Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Our tome is therefore connected with some of the most important and interesting personages in the early history of the Catholic Church of the United States.

The list of subscribers has recalled to our memory various well known and respectable names. Cannot some of our readers procure for us a copy of the subscribers' list in the edition of 1790?

## THE ELGIN BOTANIC GARDEN AND THE NEW YORK LITERARY INSTITUTION.

By EDWARD J. MCGUIRE, LL.B.

THERE are to be found in the accounts of the Catholic Church in New York City in the early days numerous references to the Botanic Gardens as being in the vicinity of the Jesuit High School, whose site is now occupied in part by the Cathedral. The following brief account is intended to tell the story of these gardens and the high-school site.

### I.

In the year 1794 David Hosack, the son of a Scotch Artillery officer at the capture of Louisburg, came home to his native city in the first flush of his maturity. He was a doctor of medicine trained in the famous schools of Edinburgh and London after taking his degrees at Princeton and Philadelphia. He was destined to a most distinguished career in New York. For more than a generation he was a famous physician, a pioneer in sanitary science, the most distinguished of its teachers of medicine and a leader in its social and intellectual life. He was active in everything which related to the building up of the growing metropolis. He died in the year 1835 revered and honored. The New York Historical Society, New York Hospital, County Medical Society, State Medical Society, College of Physicians and Surgeons and Columbia University all look to him gratefully either as a founder or as a faithful friend and servant. When he returned to New York although it was the State's capital it was still a small provincial town. When he died it was a large city and the metropolis of America. In almost every work relating to science and the mind, which had been created or developed in New York during his crowded life, he had a large part.

He was an enthusiastic botanist. He published under the

title "Hortus Elginensis" a scientific catalogue of his own collection of plants which is regarded as a valuable contribution. When he died there were listed sixteen species of plants of different regions under the genus "Hosackia." He brought with him from Europe a collection of duplicate specimens from the herbarium of Linnæus. Among the duties which he undertook in 1795 shortly after his return were those of professor of botany at Columbia College. His desire to advance the study of this science led him in the year 1801 and those immediately following to buy twenty acres of land beyond Murray Hill on the edge of the city's common land for a botanical garden. It was a small settlement called Elgin, lying between the Bloomingdale Road, which is now Broadway, and the Boston Post Road, which lay between what are now Second and Third Avenues. It adjoined a street which the city previously had laid out and called Middle Road, which is now substantially Fifth Avenue.

The neighborhood was remote and continued to be so for many years. The growth of the city northward was slow. In 1753 the site of Columbia College at Murray Street was described by a contemporary historian as being "in the suburbs of the capital." (Smith's History of New York, p. 233.) Excepting for a short distance along the East River, in the year 1800 the city did not extend much beyond the present Post Office. The fact is recorded by Archbishop Bayley that, in the year 1820, Saint Patrick's Cathedral in Mulberry Street was so far in the fields and so surrounded by woods that a fox was caught in the churchyard. (Catholic Church on New York Island, p. 68.) In 1851 Fifth Avenue above Forty-second Street was still a dirt road running over hills and hollows. (Wilson's History of New York City, vol. iv, p. 556.) When Dr. Hosack purchased his land the city above Houston Street had not been generally plotted. It was not until after 1807 that the streets and avenues in this vicinity were laid out. (Laws 1807, chap. 115.) The garden was substantially included within the boundaries of Forty-seventh and Fifty-first Streets and Fifth and Sixth Avenues.





HOSACK BOTANICAL GARDEN, 1801.  
Fifth Avenue and Fifty-first Street.



The Elgin Botanic Garden was the name borne by the land which Doctor Hosack embellished. It was opened as a park to the public by its founder who soon made it famous. The names of the two most celebrated botanists, John Torrey and Asa Gray are associated with that of Doctor Hosack as their teacher. It was visited by many of the famous botanists of Europe and its collections received high praise. An interesting personal account of it is given in an address read before the New York Historical Society, in the year 1857, by Doctor John William Francis who was a pupil and afterwards the colleague and associate of Doctor Hosack both in the teaching and practice of medicine. Its quaint style recalls the Eighteenth Century in which Doctor Francis was born. He says: "I trust I am not vulnerable to the charge of diverging too far from an even path into every field that may skirt the road if while on the subject of gardens and parks I commemorate one other of superior claims to consideration and which at the time we have so often alluded to had arrived at a degree of importance which might almost be called national. I mean the Elgin Botanical Garden founded by the late Doctor Hosack in 1801, and at the period of our incorporation justly pronounced an object of deep interest to the cultivators of natural knowledge and to the curious in vegetable science. Those twenty acres of culture, more or less, were a triumph of individual zeal, ambition and liberality of which our citizens had reason to be proud whether they deemed the garden as conservative of our indigenous botany or as a repository of the most precious exotics. The eminent projector of this distinguished garden with a princely munificence had made these grounds a resort for the admirers of nature's vegetable wonders and for the students of her mysteries. Here were associated in appropriate soil exposed to the native elements or protected by the conservatory and the hot houses, examples of vegetable life and of variety of development, a collection that might have captivated a Linnaeus or a Jussieu. Here indeed a Michaux and a Barton, a Mitchill, a Doughty, a Pursh, a Wilson or a Le Conte often repaired to solve the doubts of the cryptogamist or to confirm

the nuptial theory of Valliant." He adds sadly: "Time and circumstances have wrought great changes in this once celebrated place the Elgin Garden."

Another account of the garden is found in Robert L. Guernsey's book, "New York City during the War of 1812" (p. 43). He says: "The paths and walks were tastefully laid out and ornamented by plants, flowers, etc. The conservatories and hot houses were between Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets, Fifth and Sixth Avenues and had a front of one hundred and eighty feet. The whole was enclosed by a well constructed stone wall, lined all about by a belt of forest trees and shrubs."

The garden did not remain long in Doctor Hosack's ownership. In the year 1809 the Medical Societies of the City and the State, the New York Hospital, the Common Council of the city and "divers respectable citizens" presented a petition to the legislature which recited their opinion "that the Botanic Garden established and owned by David Hosack of the said city, at a place called Elgin, near the said city may become a great public benefit by being applied to promote medical science in this State" and recommended the purchase of the Garden by the State of New York. The legislature thereupon, in a manner which seems strange now, but which was common in those days, authorized the creation of a lottery to be managed by the persons named in the act for the purpose of raising by its profits the money required to buy the land at a valuation which was carefully provided for. Doctor Hosack generously promised to give with the land and without charge the botanical specimens and all other trees, shrubs and plants contained in it. The act directed that the land when acquired should be managed by the Regents of the University for the use and employment of the medical schools, physicians and students of medicine of the State generally without charge of any kind. (Laws 1810, chap. 50.) The plan was carried out, the lottery was held and the Elgin Botanic Garden became the New York Botanic Garden. It was destined however to be of very short duration.

The custom of obtaining aid from the State for colleges

and schools at that time existed unquestioned. Union College at Schenectady was then in its first years. An appeal was made on its behalf to the legislature. It was opposed by Columbia College which presented a claim for similar assistance. The result of the agitation was the passage of an act in 1814 with this curious title: "An Act instituting a lottery for the promotion of literature and for other purposes." It gave to Union College \$200,000 from profits to be raised by a lottery, and granted to Columbia College the land "known by the name of Botanic Garden in the Ninth Ward of New York City and lately conveyed to the People of this State by David Hosack" upon condition that the college establishment should be removed to the tract or to land adjacent thereto within twelve years. The act further provided for the delivery by Columbia College of a list of the plants and other botanical specimens in the garden to every other college in the State within three months and also for the delivery to such colleges upon application within one year at the garden of duplicate botanical specimens "together with the jar and vessel containing the same." (Laws 1814, chap. 120.)

This plan of giving to Columbia College the care of the Botanic Garden was evidently not a success. In the year 1819 the Legislature, by an act, which contains the recital that the act of 1814 had not been productive of the benefits intended, repealed the provisions which required Columbia College to remove its buildings to the tract or adjacent land and the provisions which related to the botanical specimens and their distribution. In this way the State of New York vested in Columbia College the title in fee simple to these twenty acres of land included in the Botanic Garden without restrictions or charges of any kind. (Laws 1819, chap. 19.) Columbia College removed its buildings to the block between Park and Madison Avenues, Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Streets, in the year 1857. It seems never to have occupied the Botanic Garden for its collegiate purposes. It kept intact until recent years this land of Doctor Hosack's enterprise, and the State's bounty, leasing it upon ground rents from which it has derived

a most important part of its revenues. It has only lately sold small portions of it. It forms now one of the most valuable plots of land in the world.

## II.

The Catholic Church, even in those days of poverty, obscurity and obloquy, was looking earnestly into the future. In 1801 when Doctor Hosack founded his botanic garden there was no Bishop of New York. The first Bishop, Richard Luke Concanen, was not consecrated until 1808. The Catholic population of the city however had been growing vigorously every year from the close of the Revolution. The two hundred Catholics whom Father Farmer found there in 1785 had grown so as to overtax the capacity of old St. Peter's, the only church. The few priests in the city were unable to serve the people. The zeal of the Jesuit Fathers came to the rescue. In the year 1808 two of their distinguished men were sent from Maryland, at the request of Archbishop Carroll, to work at New York. The elder was Father Anthony Kohlmann, a true missionary priest, whose name has recently been perpetuated in Kohlmann Hall, the latest foundation of the Jesuits, at 181st Street and Fort Washington Avenue, Manhattan. He came in the vigor of his manhood to be the Vicar General of New York during the vacancy of the See and until the arrival of Bishop Concanen. Although Father Kohlmann was an Alsatian, and became a Jesuit on the American mission after he was thirty years old, he had the power of adaptation to his environment in a high degree. He was soon beloved by all classes of the people and was counted among the distinguished citizens of New York. The younger Jesuit was Father Benedict Fenwick, the son of an ancient English Catholic family, which had settled in Maryland at an early day. He was born in 1782 and his service in New York was therefore during the youthful days of his ministry. In 1825 he became the second Bishop of Boston and died in that See in 1846 after a distinguished episcopate. From the beginning they planned to establish a college, and they proceeded at once to carry out the project.

Father Kohlmann wrote to Father William Strickland, S.J., the English Procurator, under date of May 7th, 1808 as follows:

"Our Rt. Rev. Bishop Carroll has thought proper to send me in the capacity of Rector of this immense Congregation and Vicar General of this Diocese till the arrival of the Rt. Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, Bishop of New York. The Congregation chiefly consists of Irish, some hundred of French, and as many Germans, in all according to the common estimation of 14,000 souls. Rev. Father Fenwick, a young father of our Society, distinguished for his learning and piety, has been sent along with me. . . . I have brought along with me four young masters of our Society to erect a College in this city, and with the divine assistance I hope we shall succeed. We all live together in the same house observing our religious discipline as much as is consistent with our present situation. . . ."

Archbishop Carroll writing to Father Strickland on December 3rd, 1808 says:

"I have sent Mr. Kohlmann to New York, where a zealous pastor was much wanted, and he is accompanied with a countryman of my own, lately ordained and out of his Novitiate, of great promise and with four Scholastics, who have begun a school, from which much good is expected."

Archbishop Carroll writing on September 9th, 1809 to Charles Plowden at Stonyhurst, England, says:

"I have placed at New York two priests of the Society, Messrs. Kohlmann and Benedict Fenwick, with four scholastics, who have already produced most happy fruits, by introducing exercises of piety, sodalities, establishing an extensive academy, etc."

The first Jesuit School was begun by Father Kohlmann, in a rented house, opposite the site of the old Cathedral of St. Patrick in Mulberry Street, which he had bought in 1808 shortly after his arrival in order to establish another church which was sorely needed and to provide a cemetery for the people. The school afterwards was removed to Broadway as it outgrew its old quarters. In March 1810 a site for a college was purchased which to anyone acquainted with the poverty and difficulties of the Church in New York in that day seems to show an almost miraculous foresight of the power and force

concealed beneath a most forbidding exterior. It was the block of ground now made into two blocks by the opening of Madison Avenue, which lay between Fourth and Fifth Avenues, Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets and which was directly opposite the Elgin Botanic Garden.

Father Kohlmann wrote to Father Strickland this account of his enterprise on September 14th, 1810, after the College had been moved to its new site.

"Indeed it is but two years that we are arrived in this city, without having a cent in our pockets, not even our passage money . . . and to see things so far advanced as to see not only the Catholic religion highly respected by the first characters of the city, but even a Catholic College established, the house well furnished both in town and in the college . . . is a thing which I am at a loss to conceive and which I cannot ascribe but to the infinite liberality of the Lord to Whom alone, therefore, be all honor and glory. The College is in the center not of Long Island but of the Island of New York, the most delightful and most healthy spot of the whole Island, at a distance of four small miles from the city, and of half a mile from the East and North rivers, both of which are seen from the house, situated besides between two roads, which are very much frequented, opposite to the botanic gardens which belong to the State. It has adjacent to it a beautiful lawn, garden, orchard, etc. About a month ago we gave a public examination, advertised in the papers, on which occasion premiums were distributed, speeches delivered, all which gave great satisfaction to the respectable audience of ladies and gentlemen who attended on the occasion. Everyone thinks that if the reputation of the house be kept up, it will in a short time rivalize any college in the country. I expect we shall have thirty boarders for the beginning of next month. This city will always be the first city in America on account of its advantageous situation for commerce. From the West Indies parents will send their children to this port in preference to any other. The professors of the State's or Columbia College have sent up these two years past, a kind invitation to accompany, at what they call the annual commencement, the procession of the students from the College to some other church, where speeches are delivered and degrees conferred: they had never paid that attention to the Catholic clergy before.

"The College is on the following footing: Rev. Father



Benedict Fenwick, an excellent scholar, has resided in it these two months; but I find by experience that to attend about fourteen thousand souls is too heavy a work for one man, and so he will probably live again in the city, and visit the College once a week. I generally come out on Saturday to hear confessions, etc., etc. There lives also in the College a Spanish priest, who speaks also Italian, but little English, a man of good morals and much beloved by the pupils. Brother Wallace, a scholastic of the Society, is our master of Mathematics, one of the ablest in the United States. Brother White, a scholastic also of the Society, is professor of English, Latin and Greek tongues, with which he is well acquainted. The teacher of the French language is a native of France, much esteemed in town for his knowledge, but does not reside in the house."

This was the time of the school's greatest prosperity. In November 1810 Father Kohlmann writes again to Father Strickland:

"Our College, thanks to God, is in a very prosperous way. In the space of about eight months we received thirty-six pupils, that is as many as the house can possibly admit, among whom are the son of the late Governor Livingston and the son of the present Governor Tompkins who are both very willing to support with their credit the petition of a lottery we are about to present to the Legislature. . . . ."

It is interesting to see the Jesuits contemplating the raising of money by a State lottery with the same complacency as Union College and Columbia College exhibited in such matters.

The title to the land which Father Kohlmann bought was taken by two of the best known of the Catholic pioneers of New York, Andrew Morris and Cornelius Heeney. Andrew Morris was a distinguished citizen and for several terms represented the city in the legislature. Cornelius Heeney was a fur merchant and at one time a partner of John Jacob Astor. John Gilmary Shea distinguishes him by the high title of "truly Catholic." The price of the land and its improvements was eleven thousand dollars as stated in the deed. How large a mortgage remained on the land does not appear.

The mansion as has been said was occupied by the Jesuit Fathers as their school. It was enlarged and improved substantially. The College was called the New York Literary

Institution. It was the second foundation of the Jesuits in New York City. The predecessor of the New York Literary Institution, the New York Latin School, was built in 1683 upon what are now the grounds of Trinity Church, by Governor Thomas Dongan and was placed by him in the charge of the Jesuit Fathers Harrison, Harvey and Gage, who had accompanied him to New York as his chaplains. (Shea, *Catholic Churches of New York City*, p. 25.)

The conditions which surrounded the Church in New York in the days of the New York Literary Institution were not propitious for the growth of such works. As has been said there was no Bishop in the See. Napoleon's assault upon the Papacy, which later hurled him from his throne, was then in full force and prevented Bishop Concanen from ever reaching New York. As is well known, he died mysteriously at Naples on June 19th, 1810, while awaiting an opportunity to sail. After his death the misfortunes of the Pope multiplied and delayed the appointment of the bishop's successor. It was not until November, 1814 that Bishop John Connolly was consecrated at Rome. He did not reach his See until a year afterwards. The people for the most part were uneducated, poor, weak and obscure. The priests were few and without the power that comes from effective Church discipline. In 1815, as if to add to the desolation, Father Kohlmann was recalled and Father Fenwick in 1817 returned to Maryland under the order of his superiors. The New York Literary Institution before that disappeared except as a memory. The Society of Jesus of that day was not completely restored after its suppression. The American Mission, it is true, was vigorous again but the difficulties in obtaining men for the many works it found to do was very great. Georgetown College required many and those in New York were needed. Archbishop Carroll on December 12th, 1813, writes to Father Plowden:

"Father Kohlmann with his companions at New York, have done much for religion, and their little College would do well, too, if it could be supplied with proper teachers . . . there are too few to supply that place and Georgetown. . . ." As stated

by Father John Grassi, the Superior of the American Mission, in his letter to Father Kohlmann the New York institution had become *onus insupportabile*.\*

In the summer of 1813 the New York Literary Institution was closed. The title to the property remained in the Jesuits. The price they paid for it above the mortgage was \$1,300. They sold it to the diocese for \$3,000 (Woodstock Letters, vol. 16, No. 2 et seq.). In 1828 a foreclosure sale was had for the purpose, it appears, of making title after business difficulties in which the holder of the nominal title had become involved. At this foreclosure sale the land was purchased by Francis Cooper, trustee of St. Peter's Church, for \$5,550. He conveyed it almost at once, in January 1830, to the Trustees of St. Peter's Church and the Trustees of St. Patrick's Cathedral as equal owners. In 1814, after the College was closed, the Trappist monks occupied the buildings for a little while and conducted an orphan asylum. They left New York in the autumn of that year and their work disappeared with them.†

The site of the old Jesuit school, at Fiftieth Street and Fifth Avenue after this, and until the year 1835 was the only place where Mass was said in the central and upper part of Manhattan Island. In that year St. Paul's Church in 117th Street, Harlem, was established. In the year 1841 St. John the Evangelist's Church was founded, and for its use the Trustees of St. Patrick's and St. Peter's conveyed the four lots on the northeast corner of Fiftieth Street and Fifth Avenue. The rector lived in the old college buildings. They were removed for the construction of the present cathedral.

The troubles of the Trustees of St. Peter's Church resulted finally in the enforced assignment by the church corporation of all its property for the benefit of its creditors. In 1852 Dr. James Roosevelt Bayley, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, then Archbishop Hughes' secretary, and Mr. James Nicholson, as the trustees under the assignment, brought an action in the Supreme Court to have the remaining land apportioned between

\* Catholic Church in United States, Decourcy-Shea, p. 369.

† Shea, Catholic Church in United States, Vol. II, p. 168.

themselves and the Cathedral trustees, which was afterwards done by judicial decree. In the same year a sale at public auction was made of the portion of the land set off by the decree to the trustees for the creditors of St. Peter's Church. At this sale the trustees of the Cathedral purchased St. Peter's portion for a price sufficient with other funds which had been gathered to pay the creditors of the church in full. (Bayley, *Catholic Church on Island of New York*, p. 144.) About the same time Archbishop Hughes, who held the record title to the plot of St. John's Church, conveyed it to the Cathedral trustees. In this manner the title to the entire block was vested in the Trustees of St. Patrick's Cathedral where it has ever since remained.

A false notion is abroad that the Cathedral block was the subject of a gift by the city of New York to the Catholic Church. The origin of this idea is difficult to trace. It probably lies in the fact that the block immediately north between the same avenues, and Fifty-first and Fifty-second Streets was granted by the City of New York to the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum for its charitable uses in 1846. The block of land which Father Kohlmann afterwards bought and which had been improved by the erection of a mansion and gardens, was sold by the city to one Robert Lylburn, at a sale of part of its Common Lands, in May, 1799, eleven years before he bought it. The deed to Lylburn from the city contained a reservation, in the manner customary at that day, of an annual quit rent of four bushels of good merchantable wheat or the value thereof in gold or silver coin of lawful money of the State of New York. This quit rent burdened the title until 1852 when the city commuted it for a cash payment, the amount of which was satisfactorily adjusted between it and the diocesan authorities. As it was the time of Know-nothingism it may safely be inferred that the city exacted a reasonable sum as a condition for cancelling this nominal charge.

## III.

It is a remarkable fact that the scientific enthusiasm of one of its earliest professors was indirectly the principal means by which the growth of Columbia College was fostered and by which it was enabled to become the richest and grandest of New York's institutions of learning. It is still more remarkable that Doctor Hosack's creation of a beautiful garden, which he permitted to be used as a pleasure ground by the people, should have led the astute and far-seeing Jesuit pioneers in New York, sojourners as they were then, to choose one of the blocks opposite to it for their school, whereby there was secured for the Catholic Church the most valuable of its Cathedral sites in all America.

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 LIVINGSTON, REV. WILLIAM.  
 LONARGAN, REV. JOHN P.  
 LOUBAT, JOSEPH F.  
 LUDDEN, RT. REV. P. A., D.D.  
 LUMMIS, WM.  
 LYNCH, DR. J. B.  
 LYNCH, JAMES D.  
 LYNCH, RT. REV. MGR. J. S.  
     M., D.D.
- LYONS, JERE. C.  
 MCANERY, JOHN P.  
 MCBRIDE, T. J.  
 MCCABE, REV. JOHN J.  
 MCCAFFREY, JOHN B., M.D.  
 MCCALL, HON. EDW. E.  
 MCCARTEN, M. K.  
 MCCLURE, DAVID.  
 MCCLURE, REV. WM. J.  
 MCCREADY, RT. REV. MGR.  
     CHAS. J.  
 MCCUE, REV. E. J.  
 McDONNELL, RT. REV. CHAS.  
     E., D.D.  
 McDONNELL, PETER.  
 McFAUL, RT. REV. JAMES A.,  
     D.D.  
 McFEE, JOHN J., M.D.  
 MCGARE, REV. THOMAS F.  
 MCGEAN, EDW. J.  
 MCGEAN, RT. REV. MGR.  
     JAMES H.  
 MCGOLRICK, REV. ED. J.  
 MCGOVERN, JAMES.  
 MCGOVERN, REV. P.  
 MCGUIRE, EDW. J.  
 MCGUIRE, JOSEPH HUBERT.  
 McHUGH, JOSEPH P.  
 McKENNA, REV. EDWARD.  
 McKENNA, JAMES J.  
 McLoughlin, MISS MARY J.  
 McMAHON, JAMES.  
 McMAHON, JOHN B., M.D.  
 McMAHON, REV. DR. JOSEPH  
     H.  
 McMANUS, JOHN.  
 McNAMARA, HON. JOHN W.  
 McNAMARA, RT. REV. MGR.  
     P. J.  
 McNAMEE, JOHN.  
 McNULTY, JOHN J.  
 McNULTY, V. REV. WM.  
 McPARLAN, EDW. C.  
 McPARTLAND, STEPHEN J.

- MCSWEENEY, RT. REV. MGR.  
 P. F., D.D.  
 MAGUIRE, REV. WM. J.  
 MAHER, REV. J. J., C.M.  
 MARTIN, JAMES J.  
 MAYO, HON. JOHN B.  
 MEEHAN, THOS. F.  
 MEISTER, REV. ISIDORE.  
 MESSMER, MOST REV. S. G.,  
 D.D.  
 MEYER, REV. GEORGE.  
 MITCHELL, JOHN J.  
 MONKS, JOHN, JR.  
 MOONEY, RT. REV. MGR.  
 JOSEPH F.  
 MORRIS, REV. JOHN J.  
 MOSHEE, THOMAS.  
 MOTHER SUPERIOR, ACADEMY  
 OF MT. ST. VINCENT'S.  
 MOTHER SUPERIOR, SISTERS  
 OF CHARITY, MT. ST. VIN-  
 CENT'S.  
 MOYNAHAN, BARTHOLOMEW.  
 MOYNAHAN, THOMAS B.  
 MULGREW, JAMES T.  
 MULLALLY, JOHN.  
 MULLANEY, REV. J. F.  
 MULQUEEN, JOSEPH F.  
 MULQUEEN, MICHAEL J.  
 MULRY, THOMAS M.  
 MURPHY, V. REV. THOMAS E.  
 MURRAY, CHARLES.  
 MYHAN, REV. THOS. F.  
 NAMMACK, CHAS. E., M.D.  
 NOONAN, REV. JAMES E.  
 NOONAN, JOHN.  
 NORRIS, REV. JOSEPH I.  
 O'BRIEN, EDW. J.  
 O'BRIEN, REV. FRANK A.  
 O'BRIEN, REV. JOHN.  
 O'BRIEN, MILES M.  
 O'BRIEN, HON. MORGAN J.  
 O'BRIEN, REV. THOS. J.  
 O'BRIEN, THOS. S., LL.D.  
 O'CONNOR, RT. REV. JOHN  
 J., D.D.  
 O'CONNOR, WILLIAM P.  
 O'DONNELL, REV. JAMES H.  
 O'DONOGHUE, MRS. JOSEPH J.  
 O'DONOGHUE, MISS TERESA R.  
 O'DONOGHUE, LOUIS V.  
 O'FLAHERTY, WM. P.  
 O'FLYNN, V. REV. DENIS P.  
 O'GORMAN, HON. JAMES A.  
 O'GORMAN, RICHARD.  
 O'GORMAN, RT. REV. THOS.,  
 D.D.  
 O'HARA, V. REV. WM. G.  
 O'KEEFE, REV. JOHN J.  
 O'KEEFE, REV. T. M.  
 O'KEEFFE, JOHN G.  
 OLCOTT, MRS. DR.  
 O'NEILL, REV. DENIS P.  
 O'ROURKE, JEREMIAH.  
 ORE, WILLIAM C.  
 O'SULLIVAN, CHARLES.  
 OWENS, JOSEPH E.  
 PALLAN, CONDÉ B.  
 PARMENTIER, MISS ROSINE.  
 PENNY, V. REV. WM. L.  
 PERRY, CHARLES J.  
 PETTIT, REV. GEORGE.  
 PHELAN, JAMES J.  
 PHELAN, REV. THOMAS P.  
 PHILBIN, EUGENE A.  
 POWER, REV. THOMAS E.  
 PRESIDENT, TRUSTEES ST.  
 PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.  
 PULLEYN, JOHN J.  
 QUINN, REV. DANIEL A.  
 QUINN, REV. DANIEL J., S.J.  
 QUINLAN, FRANCIS J., M.D.  
 QUINLAN, JAMES.  
 RAMSAY, CLARENCE J.  
 REID, REV. CHARLES F.  
 REVILLE, PHILIP E.  
 RICHTER, RT. REV. H. J.,  
 D.D.

- |                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| RIDDER, HENRY.               | SWEENEY, REV. EDWIN M.      |
| RIDDER, HERMAN.              | TAAFFE, RT. REV. MGR. THOS. |
| ROBINSON, GEORGE B.          | TAAFFE, THOMAS GAFFNEY.     |
| ROCHE, MISS MARIE.           | TACK, THEODORE E.           |
| RODGERS, J. C.               | TALLEY, ALFRED J.           |
| ROONEY, J. A.                | TAYLOR, REV. MATTHEW A.     |
| ROONEY, JOHN JEROME.         | THERAUD, PAUL G.            |
| RODRIGUE, JOHN J.            | THOMAS, HENRY.              |
| RYAN, THOMAS F.              | TIERNEY, REV. EDW. J.       |
| RYAN, WILLIAM T.             | TIERNEY, RT. REV. MICHAEL,  |
| SASSEEN, R. A.               | D.D.                        |
| SCHACKEN, REV. ALPHONSUS     | TIERNEY, MYLES.             |
| M. H.                        | TIERNEY, JR., DR. MYLES J.  |
| SCHAEFER, JOSEPH.            | TRAVERS, VINCENT P.         |
| SCHAEFFLER, FRANK.           | TREACY, RICHARD S.          |
| SCHICKEL, WILLIAM.           | VAN ANTWERP, REV. FRANCIS   |
| SCHIRMER, CHAS. J.           | J.                          |
| SOULLY, REV. PATRICK F.      | VINCENT, JOHN.              |
| SHAHAN, V. REV. THOS. J.     | WADE, JOSEPH H.             |
| SHEAHAN, REV. J. F.          | WALL, REV. FRANCIS H., D.D. |
| SHEEHAN, REV. WM. F.         | WALSH, RICHARD L.           |
| SHEPARD, RT. REV. MGR.       | WALSH, V. REV. THOMAS F.,   |
| JOHN A.                      | D.D.                        |
| SHIPMAN, ANDREW J.           | WALTERS, CHARLES F.         |
| SILLO, JAMES P.              | WAYRICH, REV. WM.           |
| SLATER, JOHN.                | WEIR, REV. JOHN F.          |
| SLOANE, CHARLES W.           | WHITE, DR. WHITMAN V.       |
| SLOANE, DR. THOS. O'CONOR.   | WIENKER, V. REV. H.         |
| SMITH, BRYAN.                | CLEMENT.                    |
| SMITH, JAMES.                | WILLIAMS, MOST REV. JOHN    |
| SMITH, JOHN T.               | J., D.D.                    |
| SPILLANE, REV. EDW. P., S.J. | WOODLOCK, THOS. F., LL.D.   |
| SUPERIOR, CONVENT SACRED     | WUCHER, REV. THEOPHILE.     |
| HEART.                       | WYNNE, REV. JOHN J., S.J.   |
|                              | ZWINGE, REV. JOSEPH, S.J.   |

## NECROLOGY.

ANACLETUS DE ANGELIS, V. REV., O.S.F., died May 2, 1905.

DOANE, RT. REV. MGR. GEO. H., died Jan. 20, 1905.

DOUGHERTY, V. REV. JAMES, died Jan. 1, 1906.

KENEDY, PATRICK J., died Jan. 4, 1906.

McLOUGHLIN, MARCUS J., died July 2, 1906.

McNAB, REV. W. J., died Sept. 1906.

O'FLYNN, REV. DENIS PAUL, died August 22, 1906.

SETON, WILLIAM.

### REV. ANACLETUS DE ANGELIS, O.F.M.

Father Anacletus for many years was one of the most prominent members of the Franciscan order in this country. The great church and monastery of St. Antony of Padua, in the heart of the Italian colony, on the west side of New York, will stand for all time as a monument to his zeal and energy. Born near Rome, 69 years ago, he joined the Franciscan order in 1856, and was sent to this country ten years later. After serving at Winsted, Conn., and at Buffalo, N. Y., he came to this city in 1878 as pastor at St. Antony's. He held this charge for twelve years, during which time he built the present church and monastery. In 1890 he was chosen Provincial of the order and was reelected for another term in 1893. After this he was appointed Guardian of the monastery, and then, in 1901, pastor at Newcastle, Penn., where he met his death, being run down by an electric car. During all his priestly life he was noted for his humility, his zeal, his energy, and his fidelity to the rule and spirit of St. Francis.

### RT. REV. MGR. GEORGE H. DOANE.

George Hobart Doane was born at Boston, Sept. 3, 1830, son of George Washington Doane, then rector of Trinity Church in that city and later Bishop of the New Jersey Pro-

testant Episcopal diocese. Another son, William C. Doane is the present Episcopal Bishop of Albany.

George H. Doane graduated in medicine, but did not practice. He was ordained a deacon in the Episcopal church and was assigned to duty at Grace Church, Newark. On September 22, 1855, he became a Catholic and was baptized in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark. He went to the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, and afterwards to the Collegio Pio in Rome, to prepare for the priesthood, and was ordained a priest Sept. 13, 1857. His first assignment was to the Cathedral parish as secretary to Bishop Bayley. At the outbreak of the rebellion he took a very active interest in the cause of the North and contributed largely by his patriotic sermons to the enrollment of volunteers for the army. When the late Archbishop Corrigan became Bishop of Newark he appointed Father Doane Vicar General, and during the interval between the transfer of Bishop Corrigan to New York and the consecration of his successor, Bishop Wigger, Mgr. Doane was the administrator or Acting Bishop of the Newark diocese.

The American College at Rome is largely indebted to him for financial aid at a critical period of its existence. Mgr. Doane made a tour of the United States and gathered \$160,000 for that Catholic American institution.

Outside his own church Mgr. Doane was respected by all who knew him as a broad-minded, sympathetic man, having a practical interest in civic affairs while adhering most strictly to the tenets of his Faith.

His death occurred on Jan. 20, 1905 at the residence adjoining the Cathedral where he had officiated for almost fifty years.

#### REV. JAMES DOUGHERTY.

In the death, after a brief illness, of the Rev. Dr. James Dougherty, rector of St. Gabriel's Church, our society lost one of its most sympathetic members. Animated with a sincere and practical literary spirit, he watched and fostered the growth of the organization, as indeed he did every good move-

ment that had for its object the advancement of the Faith and the preservation of its accomplishments. He was born at Kingston, N. Y., Sept. 26, 1843 and made his early studies at Fordham University. His theological course was followed in Montreal and at the diocesan seminary at Troy, where he was ordained in December, 1867. Subsequently he unselfishly engaged in the arduous work of the county missions of his native town, where in 1884 he was appointed Dean of Ulster and Sullivan counties. In 1888 he was made rector of St. Monica's Church in this city, and in 1903 permanent rector of St. Gabriel's. In 1889 Georgetown University honored him with the degree of D.D., and in 1902 his Alma Mater conferred that of L.L.D. on him. His was a singularly amiable and charitable disposition that won and kept for him a legion of friends. It evoked a remarkable tribute from the non-Catholic principal of one of the great public schools in his old parish, who on the day of Dr. Dougherty's funeral made his death the subject of a eulogy and held him up as a model for the assembled pupils, quoting with special aptitude the oft used lines:

"His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up  
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

#### PATRICK J. KENEDY.

A link with the pioneer Catholic publishers of the past generation was broken by the death, in his 63d year, of Mr. Patrick J. Kenedy. Born in this city Mr. Kenedy succeeded to the book business, begun by his father John Kenedy in Baltimore, in 1826. Eventually moved to this city the establishment was located for several years near the old Cathedral and then in Barclay Street, where, during his forty years of active life as a publisher, Mr. Kenedy ever showed himself an honorable and enterprising merchant dominated by sincere Catholic principles.

#### MARCUS J. McLOUGHLIN.

Mr. Marcus J. McLoughlin, our late treasurer, died on July 2, 1906, at Atlantic City, N. J., after a lingering illness.

The Catholic Historical society owes much of its success to his unselfish efforts in its behalf. He was first elected to this office, April 2, 1900 at a time when the greatest care and courtesy, as well as zeal, were necessary. For four years he performed his duty faithfully and strenuously, winning not only the entire confidence of successive administrations, but their warmest approval, and when at last he retired, it was amid the regrets of his fellow officers who accepted his resignation, only, because they feared to take advantage of his loyalty and good will. His death, though long expected, will be mourned by all, and especially by the present writer.

I met Mr. McLoughlin in September of the year 1853, at the College of St. Francis Xavier. He was a conscientious and intelligent student, quiet and gentlemanly, ever at the service of his friends, ever ready to recognize a friendly act. The boy was father to the man. He had the respect and affection, not only of his professors, but, what is more, of his fellow students. The sympathies of all went out to him, when in the year 1857 his father's sudden death ended his college career, but a short time before his graduation. Mr. McLoughlin's father was a native of Londonderry, Ireland, a jeweler by profession. Before coming to New York he had been established in London. Marcus was the elder of his two boys whom he brought to New York. Here he opened a jewelry shop which did not prove a successful venture, so that when he was suddenly removed by death, the duty of caring for the widowed mother, devolved upon the young son. This duty was the more responsible, as not long after the father's demise, the mother was paralyzed and became a helpless invalid. Touching was the affection and care, with which our lately deceased friend and his brother John watched over their beloved parent. Marcus, after serving for a year in a lawyer's office, became a clerk in the wholesale grocery business of the late James Olwell, and there he remained a faithful and upright servant, until Mr. Olwell associated him with himself in the firm. When the young clerk in 1865 was married to Miss Catherine Dolan, the daughter of a retired merchant, the newly-married couple took the invalid

mother of the bridegroom to their home, and brought comfort and consolation to her old days. Their filial piety was not left unrewarded. For years the sunshine of happiness brightened their home. It became the center of a large family united together in Christian love and affection. Five sons and a daughter clustered around a hearth, where virtue reigned and diffused peace and happiness. Year after year passed, until almost unobserved and unexpected the grey hairs began to appear. Then age began its inroads and the faithful wife after many years of married bliss was stricken with paralysis. She recovered and for two years more, though an invalid, was her husband's cherished companion. At last on December 6, 1899, she had a second stroke and was called to her reward. Not long after her death Mr. McLoughlin severed his connection with the firm of James Olwell & Co. and in January 1900, was appointed assistant comptroller of the Emigrant's Industrial Savings Bank of which he had been a director for some time previous. After the death of Mr. David Ledwith who for many years had held this position, Mr. McLoughlin was promoted to the comptrollership. In 1902 he was married to his second wife, his cousin Miss Catherine McLoughlin of Philadelphia. This union was not destined to be of long duration. Even before the death of his first wife, Mr. McLoughlin had been assailed by a severe attack of the Grippe which, for a time threatened fatal consequences, and from which he recovered, sadly weakened in every part of his system. When he rallied he took his place as usual in the bank, but repeated attacks of the insidious illness gradually undermined his strength. The devotion of Mrs. McLoughlin was unable to stay the hand of the disease. After an accident in the winter of 1904-05 he was unable to resume his work at the bank. However he battled heroically for life, and medical skill and the devotion of his wife enabled him to maintain the unequal struggle for a year and a half. Then his strength was exhausted and fortified by the Sacraments of the Church, he died as he had lived, a devout and resigned Christian. Of Mr. McLoughlin's sons, two are members of the Society of Jesus—Father Joseph J. McLoughlin of Loyola



College, Baltimore, and Mr. Henry W. McLoughlin, a student of theology at Woodstock. (C. G. H.)

REV. WILLIAM J. McNAB.

Rev. William J. McNab was born and baptized in St. Peter's parish, New York, and there, in the parish school, he received his primary education.

Subsequently he attended the College of St. Francis Xavier, where he completed the Classical course and graduated in 1862. From St. Francis Xavier's he went to the Seminary of the Holy Angels, Niagara, and to St. Mary's, Montreal. Having finished his ecclesiastical studies, he was ordained by Rt. Rev. Bishop Timon and received into the Buffalo diocese, where he labored in various parishes for over forty years. His death, following a long illness, took place at the rectory of St. Mary of the Cataract, Niagara Falls, whose pastor he had been for many years past. The funeral obsequies were solemnized at his own church; but the remains were brought to New York for interment. The funeral Mass was celebrated at St. Peter's Church by the rector, the Right Rev. Mgr. McGean, who had known and esteemed the deceased priest from boyhood. Rev. James T. Barry, of Rye, who had been Fr. McNab's class-mate at St. Francis Xavier's, was deacon of the Mass; and the sub-deacon was Rev. Fr. Birmingham of Niagara Falls.

All through his college days, his seminary life, and his priestly career, William J. McNab was conspicuous constantly by reason of his charming amiability and his earnestness. His gentleness of character and zealous devotion to his sacerdotal duties endeared him ever to a priesthood and a people who will long hold his memory in affection. (J. E. C.)

REV. DENIS PAUL O'FLYNN.

The Rev. Denis Paul O'Flynn, rector of St. Joseph's Church, New York, died on August 22, after a brief illness, at the parish rectory. Father O'Flynn was born in the County Cork, Ireland, in 1847. He was educated at St. Colman's

College, Fermoy, and then spent two years in study in Paris. He entered Louvain University, Belgium, but after some time returned to Paris where he was ordained to the priesthood in 1873. He continued his studies for two years at the university there and received the degree of Licentiate in Sacred Theology. He then came to New York where he was made an assistant at the church of the Immaculate Conception remaining there three years. He was made rector at Saugerties in 1878, and in 1889 was sent as Vicar Apostolic to the Bahama Islands, returning to Saugerties in the following year. He continued there until 1892 when he became Permanent Rector of St. Joseph's which charge he filled up to the time of his death. (T. F. M.)

#### WILLIAM SETON.

Mr. Seton was a member of a distinguished family of Scottish origin, resident in New Jersey since 1758. He was a grandson of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton, who established the Sisters of Charity in this country and founded St. Joseph's Convent near Emmitsburg, Md., and a brother of Mgr. Seton, titular Archbishop of Heliopolis. He was born in New York, January 28, 1835, and was educated at Fordham College and at Mt. St. Mary's College, Maryland. He served during the early part of the Civil War as a captain in the Fourth New York Volunteers, but was disabled by wounds received at Antietam and obliged to retire to private life. He was the author of several novels and many magazine articles, chiefly on scientific subjects. Following is a list of his published works: "Romance of the Charter Oak" (1870); "The Pride of Lexington, a Tale of the American Revolution" (1871); "Rachel's Fate, and Other Tales" (1882); "The Poor Millionaire, a Tale of New York Life" (1884); "The Shamrock Gone West" and "Moida, a Tale of the Tyrol" (1884); "The Pioneers," a poem (1874); and "Organic Life" (1899).

## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, FEB. 28, 1905.

THE Annual Meeting of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society was held this evening at the Catholic Club, No. 120 Central Park West, Dr. Charles G. Herbermann presiding.

The reading of the Roll was upon motion dispensed with and the Secretary proceeded to read the minutes of the last Annual Meeting. These were adopted as read.

The Treasurer then read his Annual Report, and Messrs. Crane, Phelan and O'Brien were appointed a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

The Secretary reported as follows:

Members on Roll, Feb. 1, 1904.....	341
New members, introduced by Membership Comm...	16
“ “ “ “ others .....	16
Total increase during 1904.....	32
But our losses in the same period were:	
By death .....	6
By resignation .....	6 12 20

So that the present Membership is..... 361

Mr. Stephen Farrelly, Chairman of the Membership Committee, presented a report showing progress, and the same was read and accepted. On motion of Rt. Rev. Mgr. McGean it was decided to continue the Committee for the coming year.

The Secretary then read a letter from Miss Rosine M. Parmentier of No. 342 Bridge Street, Brooklyn, tendering her thanks for the article published in the recent volume of the Records and Studies and presenting the Society with a check for \$20 in aid of its good work. At the same time Miss Parmentier expressed a desire to receive two additional copies of the volume.

Hon. Judge Amend moved that Miss Parmentier's gift be accepted with thanks, and the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to write Miss Parmentier to that effect.

The President then proceeded to exhibit a series of Stereopticon views illustrating the history of Greek painting and especially the frescoes recently discovered in the old church of Santa Maria Antiqua at Rome. The remarks of the exhibitor constituted a very learned lecture which was listened to with earnest attention by the audience; and at the close a vote of thanks was offered to the lecturer.

New members were nominated and elected as follows:

Rev. James E. Noonan, nominated by Rt. Rev. Mgr. McGean.

Mr. Peter Egan, nominated by Mr. Ed. J. McGean.

The ticket prepared by the Executive Council in accordance with the Constitution was then presented, and the nominees individually elected as follows:

<i>President,</i>	Dr. Charles G. Herbermann.
<i>Vice-President,</i>	Stephen Farrelly.
<i>Recording Secretary,</i>	John E. Cahalan.
<i>Corresponding Secretary,</i>	Joseph H. Fargis.
<i>Librarian,</i>	Rev. M. J. Considine.

*Trustees:*

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph F. Mooney, V.G., Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, Joseph F. Mulqueen, Dr. José M. Ferrer, Henry Heide, Hugh Kelly, Dr. Thos. S. O'Brien.

*Councillors:*

Hon. Edward B. Amend, Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., William R. King, Edward J. McGuire, John F. Doyle, William F. Clare.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOHN E. CAHALAN,  
*Recording Secretary.*

## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, FEB. 5, 1906.

THE Annual Meeting of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society was held this evening at the Catholic Club, Dr. Charles G. Herbermann presiding.

The Roll-call being dispensed with, the minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved.

New members were proposed as follows:

By Mr. Stephen Farrelly: Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P.

By Mr. John F. Doyle: Col. John F. Doyle, Jr.; Alfred Doyle.

By Mr. Henry Heide: William F. Heide.

By Mr. Joseph A. Fripp: William P. O'Flaherty.

A separate ballot being cast for each they were all un-animously elected.

The President then addressed the meeting at length, relating the work of the Society during the past year as well as its progress in membership. He also outlined the contents of the new volume that is soon to be sent to the printers.

The Recording Secretary then read a brief report as to membership. From this it appeared that the

Number of members on Roll, Feb. 1, 1905 was.....	361
“ “ “ since admitted .....	25
“ “ losses by death and resignation.....	7

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Making a net increase of .....	18
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Number of members on the Roll, Feb. 1, 1906.....	379
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The Treasurer then read his Annual Report, and Messrs. William R. King, John Mullaly and J. F. Doyle were appointed a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

A short but interesting paper was read by Mr. Thos. F. Meehan, summarizing the history of the three members of our Society who had died during the year, namely, Rev. Father Anacletus, V. Rev. James Dougherty, and Mr. P. J. Kenedy.

A new Committee on Membership was appointed to consist of the Vice-President, with Rev. Thomas F. Myhan, Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., Hon. Alfred J. Talley, Dr. Francis J. Quinlan, and Mr. Thomas Francis Meehan.

The balloting for members of the new administration then followed, resulting in the election of the entire ticket presented by the Executive Council, as follows:

<i>President,</i>	Dr. Charles G. Herbermann.
<i>Vice-President,</i>	Stephen Farrelly.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Richard S. Treacy.
<i>Recording Secretary,</i>	John E. Cahalan.
<i>Corresponding Secretary,</i>	Joseph H. Fargis.
<i>Librarian,</i>	Rev. M. J. Considine.

*Trustees:*

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. F. Mooney, V.G., Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jas. H. McGean, Dr. José M. Ferrer, Henry Heide, Hugh Kelly, Dr. Thomas S. O'Brien, Peter Condon.

*Councillors:*

Hon. Edw. B. Amend, LL.D., Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., William R. King, Edward J. McGuire, William F. Clare, John F. Doyle.

The business of the evening being finished the meeting adjourned.

JOHN E. CAHALAN,  
*Recording Secretary.*

**RICHARD S. TRACY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE U. S. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

## 357

NEW YORK, January 31, 1905.

This is to certify that we have examined the above account and compared vouchers with the same and have found it correct.

JAS. J. PHILLAN, } Auditing  
EDWARD J. O'BRIEN, } Comr.